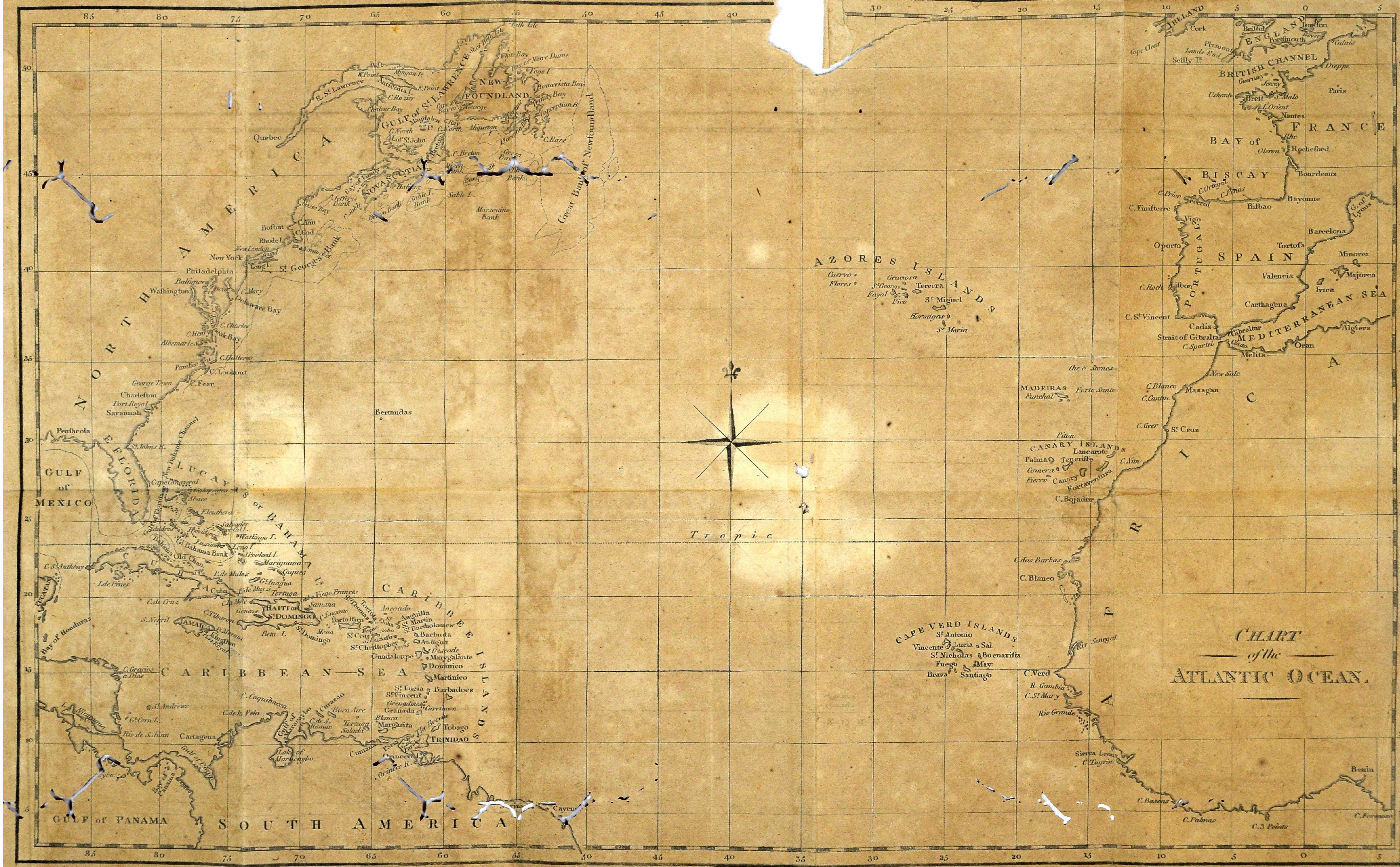
CHART
of the
ATLANTIC OCEAN.
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
AFRICA
GULF of MEXICO
GULF of PANAMA
CARIBBEAN SEA
CARIBBEE ISLANDS
LUCAYS or BAHAMA Is.
EAST FLORIDA
NEW FOUNDLAND
GULF of St. LAWRENCE
NOVA SCOTIA
Great Bank of Newfoundland
AZORES ISLANDS
MADEIRAS
CANARY ISLANDS
CAPE VERD ISLANDS
ENGLAND
IRELAND
BRITISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
BAY of BISCAY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tropic
Quebec
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Washington
Charleston
Savannah
Pensacola
Bermudas
Cuba
HAITI or St. DOMINGO
Jamaica
Porto Rico
Barbadoes
TRINIDAD
Cartagena
Cayenne
Sable I.
Sable I. Bank
Cape Breton
C. Race
C. Hatteras
C. Lookout
C. Fear
Cape Canaveral
Gulf Stream
Bahama Bank
Abaco
Eleuthera
Lake of Maracaybo
Orinoco R.
Trinidad
Tobago
Grenada
St. Vincent
St. Lucia
Martinico
Dominico
Guadalupe
Antigua
Barbuda
Bay of Honduras
C. Gracias a Dios
Gulf of Darien
St. Andrews
Cuervo
Flores
Fayal
Pico
St. George
Graciosa
Tercera
St. Miguel
Hormigas
St. Maria
Funchal
Porto Santo
Palma
Gomera
Fierro
Canary
Teneriffe
Lancarote
Fortaventura
C. Bojador
C. Blanco
C. Verd
C. Nun
C. Geer
C. Cantin
Masagan
St. Cruz
Mogador
C. dos Barbas
R. Senegal
R. Gambia
C. St. Mary
Rio Grande
Sierra Leona
C. Tagrin
C. Bassas
C. Palmas
C. 3 Points
Benin
C. Formoso
St. Antonio
Vincente
Lucia
Sal
St. Nicholas
Buenavista
Fuego
May
Brava
Santiago
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Ceuta
C. Spartel
Cadiz
C. St. Vincent
Lisbon
C. Roca
Oporto
Vigo
C. Finisterre
Ferrol
C. Ortegal
Bilbao
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Algiers
Oran
Melilla
G. of Lyons
New Sale
Bay of Fundy
Halifax
Penobscot
Georges Bank
St. Georges Bank
C. Cod
Rhode I.
New London
Long I.
Delaware Bay
C. May
Baltimore
C. Charles
C. Henry
Albemarle S.
Pamlico S.
George Town
Port Royal
St. Johns R.
Bahama Channel
Crooked I.
Watlings I.
Mariguana
Caycos
Inagua
Tortuga
Samana
C. Tiburon
C. St. Antonio
I. de Pines
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Kingston
Port Royal
Beta I.
Mona
St. Domingo
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St. Martin
St. Bartholomew
St. Eustatius
St. Christopher
Nevis
Montserrat
Desirade
Marigalante
Grenadines
Blanca
Margarita
Cumana
Tortuga
Buen Aire
Curazao
C. de la Vela
C. Coquibacoa
Porto Bello
Nicaragua
Belle Isle
White Bay
Bay of Notre Dame
Fogo I.
Bonavista Bay
Trinity Bay
Conception B.
Placentia
St. Peters
Miquelon
C. Ray
Bay of Chaleur
Magdalen Is.
C. North
St. Johns
Anticosti I.
Mingan Is.
R. St. Lawrence
Green Bank
Banquereau
Bank
Brown's Bank
Jeffery's Bank
Marquis Bank

1827
1190

A GENERAL COLLECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

FROM

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN TWENTY-EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS,

BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS.

1810.

Printed by Richard Taylor and Co. Shoe Lane, London.

TO THE KING.

SIRE,

IT is the peculiar glory of YOUR MAJESTY's reign, that it has extended the bounds of science, increased the accommodations and comforts of life, and enlarged the sphere of philosophical investigation.

Under YOUR MAJESTY's auspices, we have seen seas explored, and countries examined, where Europeans had never before ventured. We have seen too, that discovery has been made subservient to the most valuable purposes of human life, by a reciprocal exchange of the products of different climates. The fruits, vegetables, and animals of our own country have been

transplanted with success into the islands of the Pacific Ocean; and that rich production, the bread-fruit-tree, is now solacing the natives of the West Indies.

To whom then can a NEW COLLECTION of VOYAGES and TRAVELS be dedicated with more propriety than to YOUR MAJESTY, with whom the most important of those of your own times have originated?

That YOUR virtues may long illumine this world, and may hereafter receive their well-earned reward in another, is the fervent prayer of, SIRE,

YOUR DEVOTED

SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

WILLIAM MAVOR.

Woodstock,
Oct. 25, 1809.

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

IN the early ages of the world, the migrations of mankind being few, and their wants circumscribed by their ignorance of luxuries, they generally passed a kind of vegetative life on the spot where they were born. Their views extended no further than to the procuring of simple necessaries; and there are few countries, where men have fixed their residence, which are so sterile and inhospitable as not to supply what is essential to mere animal existence.

The noblest principles of the soul lay dormant, therefore, till artificial wants called them into action. But by extending the bounds of knowledge we increased at the same time the empire of happiness. He who makes us acquainted with what we knew not before, is a benefactor to his kind; and he who supplies a want which another feels, though self-interest may have directed his diligence, will always be estimable in the scale of society.

Man, indeed, as a citizen of the world, feels a natural interest in all that concerns his fellow men. The rudest traits of feature or of character, in distant nations, serve to amuse him by singularity; or to solace him by comparison. He enters into the views of those who evince a

desire to entertain or instruct him, with a relish proportioned to the dangers they have encountered, or the diligence and resolution they have displayed; and hence, of all studies, none are more cherished than those which combine novelty with information, through the medium of Voyages and Travels.

PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, of antiquated date, were superseded by CHURCHILL'S Collections. HARRIS'S might be considered as a rival publication of the latter. ASTLEY'S Voyages and Travels followed. These are the great works on this subject in our language, which may be named as respectable performances; but the last of them was published upwards of half a century ago. Since that period single Voyages and Travels have been multiplied in an amazing degree; and as the last inquirer has always the best chance of obtaining excellence, whatever relates to manners, to society, to produce, and to natural or artificial curiosities, is most advantageously learned through the medium of the latest publications.

But the expense attending the purchase of a complete collection of scattered works of Voyages and Travels; the time that would be consumed in reading them, and the little interest that general readers can take in particular parts, suggested the propriety and utility of a selection which might satisfy curiosity without fatigue, and convey the requisite information at a moderate price.

To accomplish this, only the substance of the most celebrated and interesting voyages and travels have been given, divested as far as possible of technical phrases and unimportant minutiæ. The plan has been to concentrate the numerous

publications on this subject into a narrow compass, and to exhibit their contents in a concentrated manner.

This new Edition has been greatly enlarged, and has been enriched with many new and important works published since the appearance of the first Edition in 1797. It may be proper further to state, that the Voyage of Anson is now given in the words of Mr. Walter, its original Editor, with an inconsiderable curtailment of some temporary matter. The Voyages of Byron, and Wallis, and the first of Cook, have also been printed verbatim from the last edition of Dr. Hawkesworth's collection. The second and third Voyages of Cook have also been reprinted, without alteration or abridgment, from the original narratives of that illustrious circumnavigator, as published by Government.

The public cannot fail to place a due value on this part of the present Collection, independently of the pecuniary consideration that the whole of the present series will cost the purchaser not more than one third of the current price of the original editions of the Voyages just enumerated.

For the convenience of purchasers, the Voyages in thirteen volumes, or the Travels in fifteen volumes, may be had separately, and the Voyages of Cook in seven volumes may also be had by themselves.

GENERAL CONTENTS

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1. Columbus, De Gama, Cabot, Magellan, and Drake.
2. Anson, and Ulloa.
3. Byron, Wallis, Carteret.
4. Cook's First Voyage.
5. Cook's First Voyage.
6. Cook's Second Voyage.
7. Cook's Second Voyage.
8. Cook's Third Voyage.
9. Cook's Third Voyage.
10. Cook's Third Voyage.
11. Phipps, Forest, Philip, Wilson, and Thunberg.
12. Pages, and Vancouver.
13. Mathews, Bligh, Turnbull, and INDEX.

TRAVELS.

14. Addison, and Montagu.
15. Shaw, Hanway, and Niebuhr.
16. Bruce, Maupertuis, and Wood.
17. Smollet's France and Italy.
18. Brydone, Swinburn, and Wraxall.
19. Coxe, and Moore.
20. Pallas, and Macartney.
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22. Sonnini, Denon, and Park.
23. Forster, and Buchanan's India.
24. Hearne, Weld, Liancourt, and Mackenzie.
25. Bourgoing's Spain.
26. Kotzebue's Siberia, France and Italy.
27. Carr's France, Baltic, and Holland.
28. Valentia, and INDEX.

CONTENTS

OF

VOL. I.

Explanation of Nautical Terms - page xiii
First Voyage of Columbus - - - page 1
Second ——————— - - - - - - 27
Third ——————— - - - - - - 45
Fourth ——————— - - - - - - 55
Voyages of the Cabots - - - - - - - 85
——— *Americus Vesputius* - - - - 87
First Voyage of De Gama to the East Indies 91
Voyage of De Cabral to the East Indies 125
Second Voyage of De Gama to the East Indies - - - - - - - - - - - - 149
Voyage of Magellan round the World - 159
Sir F. Drake's Voyage round the World - 173
Sir J. Lancaster's Voyage to the East Indies 207
Sir H. Middleton's Voyage to the Red Sea and Surat - - - - - - - - - - 233
James's Voyage for the Discovery of the N. W. Passage to India - - - - 261
Ellis's Voyage for the Discovery of a N. W. Passage to the South Seas - - - 285
Adventures of Four Russian Sailors at Spitzbergen - - - - - - - - - - 311

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AN

EXPLANATION

OF

THE NAUTICAL TERMS

NOT GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD, WHICH OCCUR IN THE NARRATIVE OF VOYAGES.

ABACK, the situation of the sails when their surfaces are flatted against the masts by the force of the wind. The sails are said to be *taken aback*, when they are brought into this situation, either by a sudden change of the wind, or by an alteration in the ship's course. They are *laid aback*, to effect an immediate retreat, without turning to the right or left, in order to avoid some danger.

ABAFT, the hinder part of a ship.

AFT, behind, or near the stern of the ship.

ANCHOR: the principal are the sheet anchor, the best bower and the small bower, so called from their situation in the ship's bows. The smaller anchors are the stream anchor, the kedge anchor, and the grappling.

AWNING, a canopy of canvass extending over the decks of a ship in hot weather.

AZIMUTH-COMPASS, an instrument employed to discover the magnetical azimuth or amplitude of any heavenly object. This operation is performed at sea, to find the exact variation of the magnetical needle.

To BALANCE, to contract a sail into a narrower compass, in a storm, by retrenching or folding up a part of it at one corner.

BEAMS, strong thick pieces of timber, stretching across the ship from side to side, to support the decks, and retain the sides at their proper distance. On the *weather-beam*, is on the weather side of the ship.

To BELAY, to fasten a rope by winding it several times round a cleat, belaying-pin, or kevel.

BENDING *a sail*, fastening it to its yard or stay.

BIGHT, the double part of a rope when it is folded, in contradistinction to the end.

BIGHT is also a small bay between two points of land.

BULGE, or BILGE, that part of the floor of a ship, on either side of the keel, which approaches nearer to a horizontal than to a perpendicular direction, and on which the ship would rest if laid on the ground: or, more particularly, those parts of the bottom which are opposite to the heads of the floor-timbers amidships on each side of the keel. Hence, when a ship receives a fracture in this place, she is said to be bilged.

BIRTH, the station in which a ship rides at anchor.

BIRTH also signifies the room or apartment where any particular number of the officers or ship's company usually mess and reside.

BOARD, the line over which the ship runs between tack and tack, when she is turning to windward, or sailing against the direction of the wind.

BOW, the rounding part of a ship's side forward, beginning at the place where the planks arch inwards, and terminating where they close at the stem or prow.

BREAKERS, billows that break violently over rocks lying under the surface of the sea.

To BRING-TO, to check the course of a ship when she is advancing, by arranging the sails in such a manner as that they shall counteract each other, and prevent her either from retreating or moving forward. In this situation the ship is said to lie-by, or lie-to.

BULK-HEADS, certain partitions, or walls, built up in several places of a ship between two decks, either lengthways or across, to form and separate the various apartments.

BUOY, a sort of close cask, or block of wood, fastened by a rope to the anchor, to determine the place where the anchor is situated.

CABLE'S-*length*, a hundred and twenty fathom.

CAP, a strong thick block of wood, used to confine two masts together, when the one is erected at the head of the other, in order to lengthen it. It is for this purpose furnished with two holes perpendicular to its length and breadth, and parallel to its thickness; one of these is square, and the other round; the former being solidly fixed upon the upper-end of the lower mast, whilst the latter receives the mast employed to lengthen it, and secures it in this position.

CAPSTERN, or CAPSTAN, a strong massy column of timber, formed like a truncated cone, and having its upper extremity pierced with a number of holes to receive the bars or levers. It is let down perpendicularly through the decks of a ship, and is fixed in such a manner that the men, by turning it horizontally with their bars, may perform any work which requires an extraordinary effort.

CASTING, the motion of falling off, so as to bring the direction of the wind on either side of the ship after it had blown for some time right a-head.

CHAINS, strong links or plates of iron, the lower ends of which are bolted through the ship's side to the timbers. They are placed at short distances from each other on the ship's outside, as being used to contain the blocks called *dead-eyes*, by which the *shrouds* of the masts are extended.

CHEEKS *of the mast*, the faces or projecting parts on each side of the masts, used to sustain the frame of the top, together with the top-mast, which rests immediately upon them.

CLAWING, or CLAWING-OFF, the act of *beating* or turning to windward from a lee-shore, so as to acquire a sufficient distance from it, to escape the dangers of shipwreck.

CLEATS, pieces of wood of different shapes, used occasionally to fasten ropes upon in a ship.

CLENCH, or CLINCH, that part of a cable, or other rope, which is fastened to the ring of the anchor.

To CLEW, or CLUE-UP, to truss the sails up to the yards by tackles fastened to their lower corners, called their clues.

CLOSE *upon a wind*, or CLOSE-HAULED, the general arrangement or trim of a ship's sails, when she endeavours to make a progress in the nearest direction possible towards that point of the compass from which the wind blows.

COCKSWAIN, or COXEN, the officer who manages and steers a boat, and has the command of the boat's crew.

COMPANION, a sort of wooden porch placed over the entrance or stair-case of the master's cabin in a merchant ship.

COURSES, a name by which the principal sails of a ship are usually distinguished, viz. the main-sail, fore-sail, and mizen.

CRANK, the quality of a ship which, for want of a sufficient quantity of *ballast* or cargo, is rendered incapable of carrying sail without being exposed to the danger of overturning.

Half-DECK, a space under the quarter-deck of a ship of war, contained between the foremost bulk-head of the *steerage* and the fore-part of the quarter-deck.

DRIVING, the state of being carried at random along the surface of the water by a storm or current: it is generally expressed of a ship when broken loose from her anchors or moorings.

To EDGE *away*, to decline gradually from the shore, or from the line of the course which the ship formerly steered.

FALL, the loose end of a tackle; or that part upon which the people pull, or hoist, to produce the required effect.

To FILL, to brace the sails in such a manner, as that the wind, entering their cavities from behind, dilates them so as to advance the ship in her course.

FISH, a long piece of oak, convex on one side, and concave on the other. It is used to fasten upon the outside of the lower masts, as an additional secu-

rity, to strengthen them when it becomes necessary to carry an extraordinary pressure of sail. The fishes are also employed for the same purpose on any yard which happens to be sprung or fractured.

FLAW, a sudden breeze, or gust of wind.

FLOOR, the bottom of a ship.

FOOT *of a sail*, lower edge or bottom.

FOOT-ROPE, the rope to which the foot of a sail is sewed.

FORE, all that part of a ship's frame and machinery which lies near the head.

GAFF, a sort of boom or pole, used to extend the upper edge of the mizen. The foremost or inner extremity of it is furnished with two cheeks forming a semicircle, which inclose the after part of the mast, so as to confine the gaff close to its respective mast whilst the sail is hoisting or lowering.

GANGWAY, a narrow platform, or range of planks, laid horizontally along the upper part of a ship's side, from the quarter-deck to the fore-castle, for the convenience of walking more expeditiously *fore and aft* than by descending into the waist.

GANGWAY is also that part of a ship's side, both within and without, by which the passengers enter and depart. It is for this purpose provided with a sufficient number of steps or *cleats*, nailed upon the ship's side, nearly as low as the surface of the water; and sometimes furnished with a railed accommodation-ladder, whose lower end projects from the ship's side, being secured in this position by iron braces, so as to render the ascent and descent convenient.

GRAPPLING, a small anchor, fitted with four or five flukes or claws, commonly used to ride a boat or other small vessel.

GUNNEL, or GUNWALE, the upper edge of a ship's side,

HANDING *the sails*, rolling them up close to the yard or mast to which they belong.

HAMMACOES, the same with hammoc.

To HAUL, an expression peculiar to seamen,

implying to pull a single rope without the assistance of blocks or other mechanical powers.

To HAUL *the wind*, to direct the ship's course nearer to that point of the compass from which the wind arises.

HAWSER, a large rope which holds the middle degree between the *cable* and *tow-line*.

HEAVING-*short*, is the drawing so much of the cable into the ship, by means of the capstern or windlass, as that by advancing she will be almost perpendicularly above the anchor, and in a proper situation to set sail.

HEAVING-*taught*, the act of heaving about the capstern, till the rope applied thereto becomes straight and ready for action.

To HEEL, to stoop or incline to either side.

HUMMOCK, a little hill.

JERKED, cured with salt.

GIB, or JIB-BOOM, a boom run out from the extremity of the bowsprit, parallel to its length, and serving to extend the bottom of the jib and the stay of the fore-top-gallant-mast.

KEDGE, a small anchor, used to keep a ship steady whilst she rides in a harbour or river.

False KEEL, a strong thick piece of timber, bolted to the *main-keel* to preserve its lower side.

KNEE, a crooked piece of timber, having two branches or arms and generally used to connect the beams of a ship with her sides or timbers.

LAGOON, a lake.

LARBOARD, the left side of a ship when the eye of a spectator is directed forward.

LASHING, a piece of rope employed to fasten or secure any moveable body in a ship, or about her masts, sails, and rigging: also the act of fastening any thing by means of the rope used for this purpose.

LOG, a machine used to measure the ship's headway, or the rate of her velocity as she advances through the sea. It is composed of a reel and line, to which is fixed a small piece of wood, forming the quadrant of a circle. The term *log* however is more

particularly applied to the latter. The log is generally about a quarter of an inch thick, and five or six inches from the angular point to the circumference. It is balanced by a thin plate of lead, nailed upon the arch, so as to swim perpendicularly in the water, with about $\frac{2}{3}$ impressed under the surface. The line is fastened to the log by means of two legs, one of which passes through a hole at the corner, and is knotted on the opposite side; whilst the other leg is attached to the arch by a pin, fixed in another hole, so as to draw out occasionally. By these legs the log is hung in equilibrio, and the line which is united to it is divided into certain spaces, which are in proportion to an equal number of geographical miles, as a half minute or quarter minute is to an hour of time.

LUG-SAIL, a square sail, hoisted occasionally on the mast of a boat, or small vessel, upon a yard which hangs nearly at right angles with the mast.

To MAKE *the land*, is to discover it from a distant situation, on approaching it after a sea-voyage.

MIZEN, the aftermost or hindmost of the fixed sails of a ship.

MOORING, the act of confining and securing a ship in a particular station, by chains or cables, which are either fastened to the adjacent shore, or to anchors in the bottom.

NEAPED, the situation of a ship which is left aground on the height of a spring-tide, so that she cannot be floated off till the return of the next spring.

OFFING implies out at sea; or at a competent distance from the shore, and generally out of anchor-ground.

OPEN is expressed of any distant object, to which the sight or passage is not intercepted by something lying or coming between. Thus, to be open with any place, is to be opposite to it; as the entry of a port, road, or haven.

OVER-HAULING, the act of opening and extending the several parts of a *tackle*, or other assemblage of ropes, communicating with blocks or *dead-eyes*.

It is used to remove those blocks to a sufficient distance from each other, that they may be again placed in a state of action, so as to produce the effect required.

PAINTER, a rope employed to fasten a boat either alongside of the ship to which she belongs, or to some wharf or key.

PALM, *of the anchor*, the same with fluke, the broad barbed ends of the two arms at the bottom of the shank.

PARCELING, certain long narrow slips of canvass, daubed with tar, and frequently bound about a rope, in the same manner as bandages are applied to a broken limb in surgery.

To PAY, to daub or anoint the surface of any body, in order to preserve it from the injuries of the water and weather, &c.

PORTS, the embrasures or openings in the side of a ship of war, wherein the artillery is ranged in battery upon the decks above and below.

HALF-PORTS are what stops that part of the port which when the gun is pushed out is left open.

PURCHASE, any mechanical power employed in raising or removing heavy bodies, or in fixing or extending the ship's rigging.

QUARTER, that part of a ship's side which lies towards the stern.

QUARTER-CLOTHS, long pieces of painted canvass, extended on the outside of the quarter-netting from the upper-part of the gallery to the *gangway*.

RANGE, a sufficient length of the cable, drawn up on the deck, before the anchor is cast loose from the bow, to let it sink to the bottom, without being interrupted, that the flukes may be forced the deeper into the ground, by the additional weight which the anchor acquires in sinking.

REEF, a certain portion of a sail, comprehended between the top or bottom, and a row of eyelet-holes parallel thereto.

To REEF, is to reduce the surface of the sail in proportion to the increase of the wind.

REEF also implies a chain of rocks, lying near the surface of the water.

RIGGING, a general name given to all the ropes employed to support the masts; and to extend or reduce the sails, or arrange them to the disposition of the wind.

RIGHTING, the act of restoring a ship to her upright position, after she has been laid on a *careen*. A ship is also said to right at sea when she rises, with her masts erected, after having been prest down on one side by the effort of her sails, or a heavy squall of wind.

SCARFING: when two pieces of timber are to be joined together by the ends, if the ends are cut square, another piece is laid upon, and fastened to both, and this is called scarfing.

SETTING, the act of observing the situation of any distant object by the compass, in order to discover the angle which it makes with the nearest meridian.

SHEET, a rope fastened to one or both the lower corners of a sail to extend and retain it in a particular station.

SHROUDS, a range of large ropes extended from the mast-heads to the right and left side of the ship, to support the masts, and enable them to carry sail.

SKIDS, or SKEEDS, are long compassing pieces of timber, formed so as to answer the vertical curve of a ship's side. They are notched below so as to fit closely upon the wales; and as they are intended to preserve the planks of the side, when any weighty body is hoisted or lowered, they extend from the main-wale to the top of the side; and they are retained in this position by bolts or spike-nails.

SPRING, a crack or breach running transversely or obliquely through any part of a mast or yard, so as to render it unsafe to carry the usual quantity of sail thereon.

SPRING is also a rope passed out of one extremity of a ship and attached to a cable proceeding from the other, when she lies at anchor. It is usually done to bring the ship's broadside, or battery of cannon, to bear upon some distant object.

SPRITSAIL, a sail attached to a yard which hangs under the bowsprit.

SQUALL, a sudden and violent blast of wind, usually occasioned by the interruption and reverberation of the wind from high mountains.

STANCHION, a sort of small pillar of wood or iron used for various purposes in a ship; as to support the decks, the quarter-rails, the *nettings*, and *awnings*.

STANDING, the movement by which a ship advances towards a certain object, or departs from it.

STARBOARD, the right side of a ship when the eye of the spectator is directed forward.

To STAY, the same as to tack; the contrary to Wear, which see; hence the phrase to miss stays when she fails in the operation.

STIFF, the quality enabling a ship to carry a sufficient quantity of sail, without hazard of oversetting.

STREAKS, or STRAKES, the uniform ranges of planks on the bottom and sides of a ship.

To STRIKE, to run ashore, or to beat upon the ground in passing over a bank or shallow.

STUDDING-SAILS, certain light sails extended, in moderate and steady breezes, beyond the skirts of the principal sails, where they appear as wings upon the yard-arms.

SURF, the swell of the sea, which breaks upon the shore, or any rock lying near the surface of the water.

SWEEPING, the act of dragging the bight, or loose part of a small rope, along the surface of the ground, in a harbour or road, in order to hook and recover some anchor, wreck, or other material, sunk at the bottom. It is performed by fastening the two ends of this rope to the sides of two boats which are abreast of each other, at some distance. To the middle of the rope are suspended two cannon shot, or something which weighs heavy, in order to sink it to the ground: so that, as the boats advance by rowing ahead, the rope drags along the bottom, to hook any thing for which they are searching.

SWEEPS are long oars sometimes used on board a ship to pull her round.

TACK, a rope used to confine the foremost lowest-corners of the *courses* and *stay-sails* in a fixed position, when the wind crosses the ship's course obliquely.

TACK-CHAIN *plates,* strong links or plates of iron, the lower ends of which are bolted through the ship's side to the timbers, for the purpose of holding the rope called a tack.

MAIN-TACK, the tack of the main-sail.

TAFFAREL, the upper part of a ship's stern, being a curved piece of wood, usually ornamented with sculpture.

TAUGHT, the state of being extended or stretched out. It is usually applied to a rope or sail, in opposition to slack.

TENDING, the movement by which a ship turns or swings round her anchor in a tide-way, at the beginning of the flood or ebb.

THWART, the seat or bench of a boat whereon the rowers sit to manage the oars.

TILLER, the bar or lever employed to turn the rudder in steering.

TIMBERS, the ribs of a ship.

TRANSOMS, certain beams or timbers extended across the *stern-post* of a ship to fortify her after-part, and give it the figure most suitable to the service for which she is calculated.

TRUSSEL or TRESTLE-TREES, two strong bars of timber fixed horizontally on the opposite sides of the lower mast-head, to support the frame of the top, and the weight of the top-mast.

TRIM, the state or disposition by which a ship is best calculated for the several purposes of navigation.

To TREND, to run off in a certain direction.

TRIPPING, the movement by which an anchor is loosened from the bottom by its cable or buoy-ropes.

VEERING, the same as Wearing, which see.

To VEER *away the cable,* is to slacken it, that it may run out of the ship.

WAKE, the print or track impressed by the course of a ship on the surface of the water.

WALES, an assemblage of strong planks extending along a ship's side, throughout her whole length, at different heights, and serving to reinforce the decks, and form the curves by which the vessel appears light and graceful on the water.

WARP, a small rope employed occasionally to remove a ship from one place to another, in a port, road, or river. And hence

To WARP, is to change the situation of a ship, by pulling her from one part of a harbour, &c. to some other; by means of warps.

WASH-BOARD, a broad thin plank fixed occasionally on the top of a boat's side, so as to raise it, and be removed at pleasure. It is used to prevent the sea from breaking into the vessel, particularly when the surface is rough.

To WEATHER, is to sail to windward of some ship, bank, or headland.

To WEAR, the same as to Veer, to perform the operation by which a ship, in changing her course from one board to the other, turns her stern to windward; it is the opposite to tacking, in which the head is turned to the windward and the stern to the leeward.

WINDLASS, a machine used in merchant ships to heave up the anchors. It is a large cylindrical piece of timber, supported at the two ends by two frames of wood, placed on the opposite sides of the deck near the foremast, and is turned about as upon an axis, by levers called handspecs, which are for this purpose thrust into holes bored through the body of the machine.

WOOLDING, the act of winding a piece of rope about a mast or yard, to support it in a place where it may have been *fished* or *scarfed*; or when it is composed of several pieces united into one solid.

YARD, a long piece of timber suspended upon the masts of a ship, to extend the sails to the wind.

YAW, the movement by which a ship deviates from the line of her course towards the right or left in steering.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

FIRST VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

THE history of the illustrious name with which we commence our work is so connected with his voyages and discoveries, that it is best delineated from them. Of the parentage and early education of Columbus little is accurately known. He was born at Genoa in 1442; and to have given him birth will ever be one of the most distinguished honours of that state. His father, it is supposed, was a wool-comber, and that he himself was at first destined for the same occupation. Be that as it may, it appears that he studied mathematics with assiduity and success at the university of Pavia; and this knowledge afterwards carried into action, by the practice of navigation, led him to form juster notions of the figure of the earth than any of his contemporaries, and to extend the boundaries of knowledge and of the world.

The correct idea this great mind had conceived of the terraqueous globe, gave birth to his design; but the imperfection of all the maps then to be consulted made him mistake the object. He proposed to find a nearer passage to the Indies and China, by sailing westward. Venice and Genoa at that time engrossed

almost the whole trade of Europe; and, in consequence, a rivalry and jealousy, which had given rise to frequent wars, always existed between them. Venice, however, maintained her superiority: she had drawn to herself nearly the collected commerce of the East, which had been hitherto carried on by way of Egypt and the Red Sea.

As Columbus was a native of the rival state, it is probable that a spirit of patriotism first animated his views of discovering a more direct passage to India; and, by that means, of transferring this lucrative trade to his own country. But timid caution, reinforced by incredulity, deprived Genoa of the advantages intended for her. Columbus having discharged the duty of a good citizen, by making in vain his first proposal of prosecuting discoveries for the benefit of his country, felt himself free from the obligation which nature had imposed on his services. His next application was to the court of France, but he met with no better success. Henry VII. then filled the throne of England; and to that prince Columbus dispatched his brother Bartholomew on the same business. This ill-fated adventurer was taken and plundered by some pirates on his passage, and, on his arrival in London, was reduced to such extreme poverty, that he could not make a sufficiently decent appearance to demand an audience of the king. But persevering diligence was characteristic of this family. Bartholomew, by drawing and selling maps and charts, soon acquired some reputation; and having equipped himself in a proper style for gaining access to the English sovereign, obtained this honour in 1488; and met with such encouragement, that he actually entered into an agreement with Henry on behalf of his brother, several years before Christopher had finally secured a patron. It is well known, however, that England lost the honour that was put within its grasp.

While Bartholomew was soliciting the English court, the first projector, his brother, had made a personal

application to the government of Portugal, where he experienced nothing but ridicule and contempt.

In superior minds there is a firmness that rises above ordinary disappointments, and in all projectors there exists an enthusiasm, absolutely necessary to give efficacy to their schemes. Columbus was not to be depressed. He now repaired to Castile, and offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella. For eight years he submitted to delays, to insults, and to the presumption of ignorance, till his patience was at last exhausted; and he had actually taken leave of Castile, in order to proceed to England in quest of his brother, with whose fortune he was totally unacquainted. He was, however, unexpectedly recalled by the queen, Isabella, at the earnest importunity of her confessor; and her majesty was now prevailed on to accede to the demands of Columbus, and to furnish him with money for his expedition.

The patient projector was raised to the rank of admiral; and it was stipulated that all civil employments, in the islands and continent to be discovered, should be wholly at his disposal; that he should nominate a council in Spain for India affairs; and over and above the salaries and perquisites of admiral, viceroy, and governor, he should have a certain share in the profits of the foreign trade and the domestic imports from his discoveries.

These preliminaries being adjusted, he repaired to Palos, to superintend the equipment of the little fleet entrusted to his command. This consisted of three small vessels, the Santa Maria, to carry the admiral's flag; the La Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the La Niña, Captain Vincent Yanez Pinzon, the brother of the former, both natives of Palos.

The squadron being furnished with provisions and necessaries, and manned with ninety men, set sail on Saturday the 3d of August, 1492; and, humble as its

strength and equipment would appear in modern times, it has led to more important events than any expedition ever undertaken by man, and was pregnant with the fate of both continents.

Next morning the rudder of the La Pinta broke loose, which disaster was supposed to have arisen from some who were adverse to the voyage; but Pinzon the captain, being an able seaman, soon repaired the damage, and they proceeded on their voyage till Tuesday, when the rudder again gave way, and forced the admiral a second time to lie to. This accident, the superstitious and the fearful interpreted as an ill omen; but Columbus rightly observed, that no omen could be evil where men were engaged in a good design. With some difficulty they steered the disabled ship as far as the Canaries, which they descried early on Thursday morning.

Here the admiral refitted and improved his little fleet; and having laid in provisions, wood, and water, set sail from Gomera on the 6th of September, standing to the westward with a light wind. In three days they lost sight of Ferro, the remotest known land; and apprehension drew tears from numbers, when they reflected that they might see land no more. To cheer this dejection, Columbus set before his crews the sure prospects of wealth and prosperity; by his own conduct animated the desponding into new vigour; and by a harmless artifice, which their general ignorance could not detect, disguised the progress they daily made, that they might not think themselves so far from their native land as they really were.

But time was not to be disguised. On the 12th of September, being then one hundred and fifty leagues west of Ferro, the admiral discovered the body of a large tree, which from appearances had long been floating on the waves. Here he perceived a current setting strongly to the north east; and, having advanced fifty leagues further, for the first time was sensible of the

variation of the magnetic needle, which, increasing with his progress, confounded and astonished him still more.

On the 14th, the crew of the La Niña had been agreeably surprised at the sight of a heron and a tropic bird; and next day they saw the sea in a manner covered with green and yellow weeds, among which they discovered a live lobster, which made them reasonably conclude they were in the vicinity of land.

Four days after, the captain of the La Pinta, being a-head, lay to for the admiral, and informed him that he had seen a great number of birds flying to the westward, so that he soon expected they should descry the land, which even then he fancied was visible. But the admiral being convinced it was an illusion, notwithstanding the solicitations of his people, was determined not to alter his course. Next day, however, observing a number of sea-gulls, which he conjectured could not take very distant flights, he began himself to entertain hopes of approaching land; but could find no soundings. Three days after, they caught an aquatic fowl, saw abundance of sea weeds, and were visited by three singing birds. Next day they observed a tropic bird; and fell in with such a quantity of weeds, as rendered them apprehensive their course might be impeded.

These minute circumstances, in any other voyage, would be unworthy of remark; but when we consider the daring spirit that conducted this, and the important consequences it has involved, every thing that illustrates its progress will continue to interest, while the world lasts.

The wind having hitherto been right astern, the mariners were under the most dreadful apprehensions of its constantly keeping in the same direction, which would have prevented their return; but about this period, it shifted to the south-west, which, though contrary, gave the admiral great satisfaction, as [illegible]fforded him an opportunity of allaying his people's fears. Yet,

in spite of argument and remonstrance, the murmurs of discontent became more loud; and a mutiny would most probably have ensued, had not the wind again shifted, and the hopes of nearing land again been revived, from the sight of a pigeon, and the flight of several small birds from the west.

But the mortification from disappointment rose in proportion to the frequency that the sailors had been elated by promising signs. They now not only loudly exclaimed against their commander, for exposing them to unavailing dangers from delusive theories, or self-interested motives; but they affirmed that they had already sufficiently evinced their own courage and perseverance, and began to talk of compelling Columbus to return. It was even proposed to throw him overboard, and to pretend, on their return, that he casually fell into the ocean, while intent on making observations.

The admiral was not ignorant of this mutinous disposition; and he exerted uncommon address in keeping it from breaking out into acts of violence. He alternately urged the claims of duty, and the legal authority with which he was invested, which he was determined not to relinquish but with life. He sometimes reproached them for their impatience and pusillanimity; then demonstrated the weakness of their fears, soothed their anxiety, and painted hope in such colours, as to distract their resolution, and disarm their rage.

It was not till the 25th of September, about sunset, that his distressing prospect began in the least to brighten. At that moment Pinzon, being a-head of the admiral, on a sudden called out, "Land, Land!" and pointed to the south-west, where they perceived something like an island, at the utmost extent of vision. This appearance was so grateful to the men, that they returned thanks to God with the most fervent devotion; and though the more correct judgment of Columbus taught him to expect a fallacy, in compli-

ance with their clamorous demand, he stood towards the supposed island the greatest part of the night; but in the morning, they saw it vanish into air, and despondency and disaffection returned. The steady intrepidity of the admiral still enabled him to persevere. In three days more, the currents became irregular; and gulls and flying fish surrounded the ships in abundance.

The appearance of birds at intervals, during this hazardous voyage, was a circumstance peculiarly fortunate, as it kept hope alive, or revived it when almost extinct. On the 3d of October, having again lost sight of those welcome visitors, the mariners conjectured they had passed between some islands, and earnestly entreated the admiral to direct his course to one side or the other, in quest of the land which they imagined had been left. Being unwilling to lose the favourable breeze that carried him to the westward, or to lessen the reputation of his undertaking by a dereliction of his object on the suggestions, or by the menaces of others, he absolutely refused to comply. This fortitude, instead of inspiring confidence, as it ought, obtained the appellation of obstinacy and madness; and the sailors were actually on the point of taking some desperate resolution, when a flight of sparrows and other birds from the west once more allayed their impetuosity.

Some imperfect signs of land appeared on the 7th of October; but disappointment had so often succeeded to expectation, that no one would venture to pronounce it, though a pension of thirty crowns for life had been promised to him who should first descry land. The Niña, however, being the best sailer, and consequently a-head, fired a gun, and hoisted her colours in token of this agreeable discovery; but the further they advanced the more they were convinced of the deception. Next day, large flights of sea-fowl and small land-birds consoled them for the disappointment; and Columbus being fully persuaded that the latter could

not take very distant excursions, in imitation of the Portuguese who had discovered many islands by following the direction of such birds, altered his course, and stood to the south-west, after having run seven hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of the Canaries.

Notwithstanding his adoption of a plan so frequently attended with success, the continued visits of different kinds of birds, and a sensible change in the air, which became impregnated with fragrance, the animosity of the crew was now raised to the highest pitch, and a storm was ready to burst on the commander, which would have overwhelmed them all in ruin.

The event of the 11th, however, served to convince the most obstinate and incredulous that land could not be distant. On this day the admiral discovered a green rush and a large rock fish; and the crew of the Pinta took up a staff curiously wrought together with a small board, and observed abundance of weeds newly washed from their native banks The people of the Niña too, had the pleasure to perceive a thorn branch loaded with red berries.

Being now assured of the vicinity of land, the admiral harangued his men at night, reminded them of the goodness of the Almighty in granting them favourable weather, and exhorted them to be vigilant, as he expected to see land next day; and, in addition to the pension we have named, promised a velvet doublet to distinguish the first discoverer. He had scarcely retired to his cabin before he perceived what seemed to be a light on shore; and this being pointed out to, and observed by one of the mariners, gave new alacrity to their exertions, and increased their cautious circumspection. About two in the morning, the Pinta gave the signal of land, which was discovered by a sailor, at the distance of two leagues. The pension, however, was decreed to the admiral, who had previously discovered the light. The ships now lay to; and never was anxiety more ardent than that

which filled up the period till morning. A new world was now about to salute their eyes; and frigid must that soul be, who reads this narrative, and cannot enter into the feelings of Columbus, and participate in the joys of his men.

The dawn approached: and disappointment was no more. They perceived an island about fifteen leagues in length, champaign and woody, supplied with delicious streams, with a large lake in the middle. The inhabitants were numerous, and supposing the ships to be living creatures, ran down with astonishment to the shore. Meanwhile the Spaniards were inflamed with an irresistible curiosity to ascertain the circumstances of this interesting discovery. The vessels were speedily brought to anchor; the admiral landed in his boat, well armed, with the royal standard displayed. His two captains proceeded also in their respective boats, with the distinguishing ensigns of this grand enterprise.

Having reached the land, they knelt down, thanked God, and kissed the earth with tears of joy. The admiral now standing up, named the island St. Salvador, now Cat-Island*, and took possession of it with the usual solemnities for their Catholic Majesties. The Spaniards now recognized him as admiral and viceroy; and to extenuate their affronts and insults in the course of the voyage, implored his pardon, and swore a ready obedience to his commands.

A number of Indians witnessed these transactions; and, appearing to be a simple inoffensive people, Columbus, to ingratiate himself with them, distributed some red caps, strings of glass-beads, and other trifles, which they received with transport; and when he returned to his ship, they followed him in canoes with parrots, spun cotton, javelins, and other productions of the country, which they bartered for European toys. The natives were of an olive complexion,

* One of the Bahamas.

middle stature, and well-formed. Their hair was black, lank, and thick, generally cropt above the ears, though some had it done up like the tresses of women. Their countenances were open; and, except that their foreheads were too prominent, their features might be esteemed regular. Some of them were painted black, white, and red; but males as well as females appeared in the simplest guise of nature. Being perfectly unacquainted with the properties of iron, they handled the edge of a naked sword, unconscious of its power of harm. They had marks, however, of war, that pest of civilized as well as savage life; and being interrogated by signs how they came by their scars, they answered in the same manner that they had received them in their own defence, when repelling the aggressions of the inhabitants of other islands that wished to enslave them.

Next morning, a great number of Indians came on board in their canoes. These are formed by excavating the trunk of a tree, and are rowed with paddles. Some were very small; others were capable of containing forty persons.

The Indians wore neither jewels nor any kind of metal, except small plates of gold suspended from their nostrils, which precious metal, as they signified by signs, came from the south and south-west, where there were great and populous countries.

Every article of European produce or manufacture, however insignificant, was grasped at with avidity; and some of them were happy to exchange a quantity of well-spun cotton, weighing twenty-five pounds, for three small pieces of brass coin not worth a farthing. They did not indeed seem impressed with a belief that these articles were valuable in themselves; but novelty gave them a charm; and they innocently and ignorantly wished to possess some memorial of a race descended from heaven, as they esteemed the whites.

The admiral, leaving the place where he first landed, coasted along the island in his boat to the north-west,

attended by an immense concourse on shore, who expressed their wonder and felicitation by a variety of gestures. He discovered a most capacious bay or harbour; reached a peninsula; and saw several houses and plantations, pleasant as those of Spain in the most genial season of the year. Finding, however, that this was not the land he was in quest of, he took some Indians as interpreters, and returning to the ships, set sail for other islands, which were visible at a distance.

Proceeding about seven leagues, he reached the western extremity of another island, about ten leagues long, to which he gave the name of St. Mary of the Conception; but perceiving that the inhabitants differed little from those he had just left, he continued his course still westward, and anchored on the coast of an island extending from north-west to south-east. about twenty-eight leagues, which he denominated Fernanda. In his passage thither, he took up an Indian at sea in a small canoe, who carried a basket containing a string of glass-beads and two small pieces of Portuguese coin, which had been exchanged at St. Salvador. It appeared he had been dispatched to Fernanda with the important news of what had happened. The admiral treated him with great civility, and put him on shore with some toys, that he might give a favourable report to the people he was about to visit.

The success of this expedient fully answered the expectation of Columbus. No sooner did he approach the island, than the natives crowded round him in their canoes, to barter their commodities, which were similar to those where he touched at first; but the inhabitants of this island evinced a superior share of sagacity and address. The women here wore girdles of cotton cloth. The natives lived in a kind of tents, almost destitute of furniture; and their beds were formed of nets suspended from two posts. The only domestic

animal was the dog, which however did not bark. The seas supplied abundance of fish.

This island affording only simple necessaries, Columbus proceeded to another, which he called Isabella. In beauty, fertility, and extent, this far exceeded what he had yet seen. Enamoured of its picturesque appearance, the admiral landed to take possession, and to view its beauties. Here the ear was delighted with the melody of birds so numerous, that their flight almost obscured the day. Near one of the lakes, of which there were several, the Spaniards killed a large alligator, which they afterwards skinned and ate. This animal is esteemed by the Indians the most delicious food.

Having investigated the produce of Isabella, the admiral, unwilling to lose more time among islands which, though beautiful, afforded no precious metals, set sail with a fair wind for an extensive country, extolled by the Indians for its riches; and arrived on the north side of Cuba on the 28th of October. This island exhibited an enchanting variety of hills and dales, woods and plains; and from the largeness of its streams, he rightly conjectured it must be of considerable magnitude.

In order to obtain intelligence, Columbus anchored in a spacious river, whose banks were shaded with tall trees, bearing blossoms and fruits with which he was perfectly unacquainted. The Spaniards landed and entered two houses, which had been deserted by the natives through fright. They however injured nothing, and soon reembarking, continued their course westward, till they arrived at another river, to which they gave the name of de Mares. This being still more considerable than the other, the ships proceeded up it to some distance, between banks all along inhabited. Here too the natives had fled, and carried their most valuable effects to the mountains, which appeared lofty and clothed with stately trees of the finest verdure.

Sensible that without some intercourse with the Indians he could never gain the information he wished, and fearful of increasing their terror, by landing a number of men, Columbus ordered two Europeans, attended by a native of St. Salvador and another of Cuba, who had ventured aboard, to travel up the country, and to endeavour to conciliate the confidence and good will of the inhabitants. In the mean while, he directed the ships to be careened.

In a few days the two messengers returned, accompanied by the Indian king and his son, and informed the admiral, that they had proceeded twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town of fifty wooden houses covered with straw, containing about one thousand people; that they were met by the principal inhabitants, who received them in the most friendly manner, and treated them with all the hospitality in their power. Their attention indeed bordered on veneration. This favourable reception they owed to their Indian attendants, who gave a very favourable report of the new visitors.

On taking leave, a great number of the natives proposed to accompany them to the ships. This offer they declined; and would accept of none but the cacique, or king, and his son, under whose protection they experienced great respect. In return for these civilities, the two princes were courteously entertained by the admiral.

In this excursion, they saw a variety of birds and fowls; but no quadrupeds save dogs. The land in general was well cultivated; and, besides the bread-root and a species of beans, produced plenty of maize, of which a well-tasted flour was made. The principal manufacture was cotton, gathered from trees of spontaneous growth. Of this the natives exchanged considerable quantities for the most insignificant articles. As this plant was only applied to the making of hammocks, and short aprons for the females, its value was little regarded here.

Neither gold, pearls, nor spices were the known produce of this island; but the Indians pointed to a country called Bohio, where they signified that all these articles abounded.

In consequence of this information, the admiral resolved to visit it. But before his departure, he secured twelve of the natives. men, women, and children, whom he intended to carry to Spain; and so little impression did this seizure occasion, that the husband of one of the females came on board in his canoe, and requested to accompany his wife and children, which was readily granted.

For some days the wind was contrary, and the attempts to reach Bohio were vain. In this interval, Martin Alonzo Pinzon took advantage of the swiftness of his vessel, and left Columbus in the night, that he might anticipate his success, and engross the wealth of Bohio to himself.

Thus deserted by one of his consorts, and the weather rendering it dangerous to keep the sea, Columbus returned to another harbour in Cuba, which he called St. Catharine's. While his crews were employed in wooding and watering here, he accidentally discovered signs of gold on some stones in the river; and saw mountains covered with pines. sufficient for the largest masts, and plenty of oak for planks. In his run along the coast to the south-east, he found many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was so charmed with the beauties of the country, that he was almost tempted to fix his habitation here for life. Sailing up one of the rivers, he perceived a very large canoe drawn on land, and another in the water, which, though formed of the trunk of a single tree, was seventy feet long, and capable of carrying fifty men. Columbus, having coasted the island for one hundred and six leagues, again set sail for Bohio, which, though only sixteen leagues distant, the currents prevented him from reaching till next day, which being the feast of St. Nicholas, he gave the name of that saint to the port

in which he anchored. This harbour is deep, spacious, and commodious; but the inhabitants flying at his approach, he coasted the island to the northward till he reached the harbour of Conception; when, observing that the face and productions of the country in many respects resembled Spain, he gave it the appellation of Hispaniola.

He saw numbers of the natives, who fled with great precipitation; but some of the Spaniards having at length secured a young woman, with a plate of gold suspended from her nose, she was introduced to the admiral, who, after presenting her with such trifles as were most likely to please female vanity, civilly dismissed her, accompanied by three Spaniards and as many Indians.

Next day eleven men, well armed, advanced about four leagues up the country, where they discovered a town of one thousand houses, from which the inhabitants, as usual, retired; but a St. Salvador Indian having found means to remove their apprehensions, they soon returned, brought their visitors food, and gazed on them with mingled astonishment and awe. The Spaniards reported, that the country was fertile and delightful, the people comparatively fair, courteous, and tractable; and that gold was said to be found further to the eastward.

On this news, the admiral immediately set sail, and in his progress taking up an Indian who was struggling with the waves in his little canoe, and presenting him with some European toys, set him safe on shore. This man, expatiating on the generous and humane manner in which he had been treated, soon induced his countrymen to come on board; but, except some personal ornaments of gold, brought nothing of consequence with them. They gave signs, however, that the metal which was the object of all their inquiries, was produced in great quantities higher up the country.

While the Spaniards were next day on shore, bartering with the sovereign of that district for a plate of

gold, a canoe with forty men approached from a small island in the vicinity, called Tortuga, which the cacique perceiving, he sat down on the strand with his attendants, as a signal of peace; but notwithstanding this, the Tortugans landed. On this the king arose, and sternly commanded them to reembark; at the same time giving a stone to one of the Spaniards which he ordered him to throw at the intruders, in proof that he would espouse the cause of the strangers. This had the desired effect; and no insult was offered. Soon after, the same cacique returned in state, carried in a palanquin, and attended by two hundred men as naked as himself. He now seemed to feel his importance; went on board without ceremony, and entered the cabin while dinner was serving up. Columbus received the Indian chief with the mildest demeanour and the most pointed respect, and supplied him with food and wine. During dinner, the cacique and his two principal attendants were grave, and spoke very little. After it was over, he presented the admiral with a wrought girdle, and two thin plates of gold, for which he was complimented with a counterpane, a string of fine amber beads from the admiral's own neck, a pair of red shoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water. These gifts were so acceptable to the prince, that he and his ministers signified to Columbus, that the whole island was at his disposal. The admiral on this displayed a gold medal with the impression of the king and queen of Spain, which seemed, as well as every object he saw, to fill him with wonder and admiration. In the evening he was sent ashore at his own desire, and saluted with the discharge of several guns. This, as may well be imagined, excited the most lively apprehension and astonishment. His reception, however, was so grateful, that he ordered his subjects to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him on shore, and proceeded to his palace with an ostentatious display of the presents he had received. On the 24th of December, the admiral sailed for a headland,

since called Punta Santa, and anchored about a league from shore. Having had no rest for two days, and the weather being calm, he retired to sleep; and, contrary to the orders he had given, the crew followed his example, leaving only a boy at the helm. This neglect proved fatal. The vessel was drifted about midnight on a ridge of rocks, before any one was aware of the danger. The admiral being alarmed by the cries of the boy, ran first on deck, where perceiving the alarming situation, he ordered the master and three sailors to carry out an anchor astern. But fear, rather than duty or feeling, operating on their minds, they rowed to the other caraval, regardless of his commands. Thus abandoned by his men, he ordered the masts to be cut away, and the vessel to be lightened; but as the water was ebbing away, all his efforts proved ineffectual: the seams of the ship opened; and she was full of water to the deck.

The other caraval sent the men and boat back again with indignation and contempt; and the admiral, seeing no hopes of saving his own ship, now carried his men on board the other. He then dispatched messengers to inform the Indian chief of his misfortune, and solicited his assistance. The cacique condoled his disaster with tears, and enjoining his men to obey the orders of Columbus, by the friendly services of these honest savages, every valuable was saved, and deposited in houses on shore, and guarded with the utmost fidelity.

Soon after this calamity, the hospitable prince, whose name was Guacanagari, paid a visit of condolence to the admiral, and bewailed his loss with the most amiable sensibility. He told him he might command his whole fortune, presented him with some vizors enriched with plates of gold; and observing with what avidity the Spaniards regarded that metal, promised to procure a quantity of it from a place called Cebao. In the mean time, a canoe from a distant island brought plates of gold which they exchanged for small bells; and the

seamen in general carried on a lucrative traffic with the Hispaniolans, who brought gold from the interior parts of the island to barter for such trifles as pleased their fancy.

The manners of the inhabitants and the productions of the country were so agreeable to the admiral, that he resolved to settle a colony here; which by maintaining a friendly intercourse with the Indians, and learning their language, might be of future benefit to the nation he served. To pursue this resolution, he was encouraged by the voluntary offers of some of his men who fell into his views, and the cacique was not a little pleased at the prospect of having such valuable allies to protect him from the hostile invasions of the Caribbee Indians, a race of inhuman canibals, who frequently molested his shores. The sagacity of Columbus knew how to give importance to this idea: he ordered a great gun to be fired against the side of the wreck; and the Indians seeing the bullet penetrate the sides, and then fall into the sea, regarded their guests with the same awe, and the belief that they possessed the thunder of heaven.

A tower was now constructed from the timber of the wreck, seemingly in compliance with the cacique's desire; and having furnished it with provisions, ammunition, and arms, he left a garrison of thirty-six men, under the joint command of three of his most trusty dependants, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and protection of the king and his people.

This business settled, he caused a few huts to be erected, and named the place the town of Nativity. He then turned his thoughts towards Spain, lest some misfortune befalling the only ship he had left, he might for ever be prevented from publishing the discoveries he had made. Accordingly, having left the most benevolent and judicious directions for the regulation of the colony's conduct, he set sail from the port of Nativity on Friday the 4th of January at sun-rising; and made

such observations as might enable him to distinguish the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being adverse, he made but little way to the eastward. On Sunday morning he fell in with the Pinta, Capt. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who, as we have previously mentioned, had deserted the admiral. Pinzon going on board, strove to excuse his desertion by pretending that he had lost sight of his consorts in the night. Columbus was sensible of the fallacy of his pretences; but rather than prejudice the common cause, disguised his sentiments, and listened to the excuses that were made.

Pinzon, it seems, had sailed to a river fifteen leagues eastward of the port of Nativity, where he had spent sixteen days in bartering for gold with the natives, and in this traffic he had been pretty successful; but having distributed one half among his crew, and retained the other himself, he wished to conceal the amount. He afterwards anchored near a conical hill, which they named Monte Christo, about eighteen leagues east of Cape Santo; but the weather impeding his further progress, he went up a river in his boat, where he discovered gold-dust in the sand, and from hence gave it the appellation of the Gold-river. On the 13th of January, Columbus being near Cape Enamorado, he sent his boat ashore, where some Indians, armed with bows and arrows, and with fierce aspects, seemed disposed to make resistance. They were, however, brought to a kind of conference by means of the Salvador linguist; and one of them venturing to go on board the admiral, appeared so savage in manners and address, that the Spaniards reasonably conluded he was one of the Carribbee canibals. This man having answered the interrogations that were put to him by signs and words, was entertained; and dismissed with such insignificant presents as seemed best suited to his taste.

At the place where he landed, fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers and

armed, formed a kind of ambuscade; and notwithstanding the exhortations of their countrymen, refused to have any commerce with the Spaniards; and even began to commence hostilities. Though the Europeans were only seven in number, they met the savages with great intrepidity, cut one with a sword in the buttock, and shot another with an arrow in the breast, on which the whole party fled with precipitation. The admiral was not displeased at this skirmish, as he imagined its event might increase the security of the colony left on the coast.

Columbus, continuing his course with a fair wind, made such progress that, on the 9th of February, according to the pilot's reckoning, they were south of the Azores; but by the admiral's account, which proved to be right, they were one hundred and fifty leagues to the west. The favourable weather which had hitherto attended them, now began to change: the wind increased to a hurricane, and the billows ran mountains high. For some days, the vessels were tossed at the mercy of the storm, during which the two ships separated; and each supposing the other had perished, the crews betook themselves to acts of devotion, and the admiral vowed to go on a pilgrimage to our lady of Guadaloupe; but the crew went further: they swore to walk barefoot in their shirts, to the first church dedicated to the virgin, they could find. In tempests and distresses, the Spaniards are still known to seek refuge in such kind of superstition: it is the strong hold of ignorance, and the last which it quits.

A scarcity of provisions increased their calamity; and the ship wanting ballast was in danger of being overset. For this last defect, the ingenuity of Columbus discovered an expedient. He ordered his casks to be filled with sea-water; and with a view to immortality, even when on the brink of destruction, he wrote a brief account of his discoveries on two skins of parchment, which he wrapt in oil cloths covered with wax;

and having inclosed them in two separate casks, committed them to the sea.

The storm continued till the 15th of February, when one of the sailors discovered land from the round top, which proved to be St. Mary, one of the Azores, where, after four days spent in incessant labour, they came to an anchor. The inhabitants of this island humanely sent fresh provisions on board, and many compliments from their governor, who expressed his astonishment at the success of the expedition, and seemed to rejoice at the discoveries that had been made. Nor were the natives less surprised, that the ship had been able to weather a storm of fifteen days continuance; these gave the admiral and his crew intimation of an hermitage in the vicinity dedicated to the blessed virgin, and at this they resolved to perform their vows.

No sooner, however, had the boat and one half of the company come on shore to fulfil this penance, and had begun their naked procession, than they were made prisoners by the governor, who had planted men in ambush on purpose. Columbus having waited in vain for the return of the boat, from day-break till noon, began to suspect some treachery; and sailing round a point, to gain a view of the hermitage, perceived a number of Portuguese enter the boat, with a view, as he apprehended, of attacking the caraval. The prudence of Columbus was on its guard. He hoped to be able to secure the Portuguese commander as an hostage, by inviting him on board; but finding he kept aloof, the admiral demanded the reason of such an outrage on the Spanish nation, and threatened the consequences. The Portuguese captain declared that what had been done was the express order of the king; on which Columbus supposed a rupture had taken place between the two crowns, and swore he would never quit his ship, till he had taken one hundred prisoners, and destroyed the whole island.

He now returned to the port he had left; but next day the wind increasing, he lost his anchors, and was

forced out to sea, with no more than three able sailors on board. The weather afterwards becoming mild, he endeavoured to recover the island of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21st. Soon after a boat was dispatched to him in the governor's name with five men and a notary, to inquire whence the ship came, and if she actually carried the king of Spain's commission. Being satisfied in these particulars, they returned, and ordered the prisoners to be released. It seems the object and the orders of the Portuguese were to secure the admiral's person; but this scheme was rendered abortive by his prudent caution.

Columbus again set sail with a favourable wind; but soon another tempest overtook him; and he narrowly escaped shipwreck on the rock of Lisbon. Providence, however, still favoured him, and with great exertions he at last anchored in the river Tagus. On this he dispatched an express by land to their Catholic majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of Portugal, requesting his permission to anchor before the city.

On the 5th of March, an armed boat came along side of the admiral, and required him to give an account of himself to the king's officers, as was customary on entering that river. The spirit of Columbus would not suffer him to submit to this indignity. As the king of Spain's admiral, he gave them to understand that he could not comply. The Portuguese finding him resolute, demanded a sight of the Spanish monarch's letter: this was readily produced; on which a suitable report being made, the commander immediately came on board with military music, and many expressions of friendly congratulation. No sooner was the nature of the voyage blazoned in Lisbon, than the whole river was covered with boats. The Indians and the particulars of the discovery were irresistible novelties and attractions. The king himself sent presents of necessaries and refreshments, accompanied with felicitations; and desired to see Columbus

before he left his dominions. The admiral at first hesitated: but reflecting that the two nations were at peace, he at last acceded to the sovereign's request, and waited on his majesty at the palace of Valparaiso, about nine leagues from Lisbon. The king ordered all the nobility of his court to advance and meet him; and when the admiral was introduced into his presence, he insisted on his being covered, and sitting down. Having heard the recital of his adventures with apparent pleasure, he offered to supply him with whatever he stood in need of; though he could not help observing, that the right of conquest belonged to him, as Columbus had first been in the service of Portugal. The admiral modestly assigned his reasons for being of a different opinion. "It is very well," replied the king, "justice will doubtless be done."

Considerable offers were made to reengage the admiral; and every honour and distinction were paid him. The king even sent to inform him, after the interview, that should he be disposed to travel to Castile by land, every accommodation on the road should be provided him. Columbus, with suitable acknowledgments, declined this flattering offer; and setting sail from Lisbon, came to an anchor in the port of Palos on the 15th of March, after an absence of more than seven months.

The people attended his landing in procession; and thanks to the Almighty for his protection were mixed with admiration of the hero who had successfully encountered so many dangers, and laid open new regions, of which, however, the importance could not even be conjectured. By this time Pinzon was arrived in Galicia, and was eager to carry the first news of the discoveries to court; but being forbid to proceed without the admiral under whose conduct he sailed, the repulse made such an impression on his mind, that he fell sick, and returning to his native place, in a few days breathed his last.

Meanwhile Columbus set out for Barcelona, where

the court then resided; and his whole journey might be compared to a triumph. All ranks flocked round him, eager to see this intrepid adventurer, and the Indians in his train. He reached Barcelona about the middle of April, and new distinctions awaited him. The streets could scarcely contain the crowds that pressed on him; and to heighten public curiosity, the productions of the new-discovered regions were carried uncovered. To do him more signal honour, their majesties ordered their royal throne to be placed in public, on which they seated themselves under a canopy of cloth of gold. When the admiral approached to kiss hands, they stood up, and caused him to be seated in their presence, and treated him as a grandee of the first class. Columbus then recited the principal particulars of his voyage, the discoveries he had made, and the hopes he entertained of finding still more important accessions to the dominions of Spain. He showed the Indians as they appeared in their native climes; and displayed the riches of the new world. Having finished his narrative, their majesties, kneeling down, thanked God with tears of gratitude, which act of devotion was immediately followed by a grand *Te Deum*.

Never was man treated with more honour and distinction than Columbus at this period. In the king's excursions round Barcelona, he kept him always by his side; an honour which had never been conferred but on princes of the blood; and which, perhaps, was more invidious than desirable.

But the regard of their majesties for the admiral was not confined to unsubstantial forms: he was gratified with new patents, confirming and enlarging his former privileges; and extending his viceroyalty and command over all the countries he had discovered, or might discover in future. The more the success of this expedition was canvassed, the more important it appeared; and it was immediately resolved, that Columbus should return with a powerful armament to

prosecute his discoveries. Not satisfied with this, the king dispatched an ambassador to Pope Alexander VI. to obtain his apostolic sanction to the new dominions, and an exclusive title to future discoveries in the same quarter. The holy father made no difficulty in complying with this request; and, as if he had been lord of the world, drew a line from pole to pole at the distance of one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, and bestowed this extensive track of the globe on their Catholic majesties. Such was the original title of Spain to America, superadded to the right of discovery. In vain shall we trace the foundation of either, to validity, from religion or justice; but ambition, intrenched behind power, is satisfied with the semblance of truth.

At this moment it is a question undecided, if Europe lost or gained more by the discovery of America, or rather by colonizing it. Columbus, however, will ever enjoy the preeminence that is due to superior penetration and perseverance; nor can we contemplate his humane and enlightened conduct in general, without paying him the tribute of our praise.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

SECOND VOYAGE OF *COLUMBUS.*

THE fame and merits of Columbus already made the malignant passions of jealousy and envy rankle in the hearts of those who had opposed his original plans, or wished to detract from his success. But all those emotions were for the present stifled; and the necessary measures being concerted for the prosecution of his future undertakings, with an activity proportioned to the objects in view, in a short space a fleet of seventeen vessels was equipped, stored with provisions, implements for improvements, and commodities for traffic. Many artizans and labourers were engaged; and so great was the thirst of gold, that numbers were desirous of entering into this service, beyond what could be accepted. The admiral restricted himself to fifteen hundred persons of all descriptions; and, having taken on board some of the most useful European animals, set sail from the road of Cadiz on the 25th of September 1493, and immediately stood for the Canary Islands, where he intended to take in refreshments. He arrived at the Grand Canary on the 2d of October; and on the 7th continued his voyage for

the West Indies, as they were now called, in contra-distinction to the East.

A prosperous gale attended them for four hundred leagues to the westward of Gomera; nor did they fall in with any of the weeds, which had been so plentiful in the former voyage. On the 26th, at night, the mariners perceived those lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to which they sang litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger would now ensue from any storm, however violent.

On the 2d of November, a great alteration in the winds and sky took place; and it poured down torrents of rain. From this the admiral concluded they were near land; nor was he wrong in his conjecture; for, at day-break, they descried a high mountainous island, about seven leagues to the westward, which he named Dominica, because it was discovered on Sunday morning. Three other islands were discovered in the vicinity; when the people, assembling on the poop, sang *Salve regina,* and returned thanks to God for their prosperous voyage. The east side of Dominica affording no convenient anchorage, they stood over to another island, which Columbus named Marigalante, from his own ship; and, landing, took possession with the usual solemnities.

He soon sailed to another island, which he denominated St. Mary of Guadaloupe, in conformity to a promise made to the friars of a convent bearing that name. At the distance of two leagues from this shore they espied a very high rock, terminating in a point, from which gushed a natural cascade with prodigious noise. Having landed some men, they advanced to a kind of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except some children, to whose arms they tied a few presents, in token of amity. Here they saw geese, a variety of parrots, and several fruits, particularly pine-apples of exquisite taste and flavour. They refrained from meddling with any of the domestic utensils or manu-

factures, that the natives might conceive the better opinion of the morality of their visitors.

Next day the admiral sent two boats ashore, to open, if possible, some communication with the natives; and the crews soon returned with two young men, who, it appeared, had been in a state of captivity. The boats, returning again for some of the people who had been left behind, found six women in their company, who had fled to their protection. These the admiral presented with beads and bells, and dismissed, contrary to their inclinations; for they were no sooner landed, than the Caribbees robbed them in the sight of their benefactors. Next opportunity they had, these poor creatures leapt into the boat, and implored the protection of the Spaniards, giving them to understand, that the islanders had eaten their husbands, and retained them in slavery. They were therefore brought on board, when they gave the admiral to understand that towards the south were many islands and a large continent; and they pointed out the situation of Hispaniola. For this island Columbus would instantly have proceeded, had not one of his captains and eight men been on shore without leave. To recover them, he sent a party ashore with musquets and trumpets, to give the signal of recall. This expedient proving unsuccessful, he ordered forty men, under captain Hoidea, to range the country, and to make observations on its produce. They reported that they found mastic, aloes, sanders, ginger, frankincense, and abundance of cotton; that birds of various species were in abundance, and that they crossed several rivers, some of which were deep and spacious.

While absent on this excursion, the stragglers returned of their own accord, and said they had been bewildered in the woods; but to punish their presumption, the captain was ordered into irons, and the men were abridged of their usual allowance. Having made this example of necessary severity, Columbus himself landed; and entering some of the houses, found plenty

of cotton, raw and spun, and numbers of human skulls, and bones suspended in baskets. The natives seemed to live and lodge more comfortably than any of those he had visited in his first voyage.

On the 10th of November, he sailed in quest of Hispaniola, and passed an island which he called Mountserrat, from its extraordinary elevation; the inhabitants of which, he learned, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees. In his progress, he passed islands to which he gave the respective names of St. Mary Rodonda, Antigua, and St. Martin, near the last of which he came to an anchor; and, on weighing, found pieces of coral adhering to the flukes. On account of bad weather, he again anchored at another island, where they secured four women and three children, and soon after fell in with a canoe, in which were four men and a woman. These, seeing an escape was impracticable, put themselves in a posture of defence; and the female discharged an arrow with such force, that it actually pierced a strong target. The canoe being accidentally overset, they betook themselves to swimming, and one of them used his bow with as much dexterity as if he had been on land. All the males were eunuchs, and had been castrated by the Caribbees to increase their fatness.

Departing from thence, Columbus continued his course; leaving to the northward fifty islands, to the largest of which he gave the name of St. Ursula, and to the rest that of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He then anchored in a bay, on the west side of what he called St. John Baptist, where the mariners caught plenty of fish. In the vicinity of the bay, they visited some well built-houses with a square in front, and flanked on the sides with cane-towers, having their tops interwoven with greens.

On the 14th he arrived in the bay of Samana in Hispaniola, where he sent on shore one of his Indian natives, now a convert to Christianity, who undertook for the submission of his country-men. From thence

he proceeded for the town of Nativity; and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, some of his men discovered two bodies of men, with a rope about their necks, suspended on a kind of cross. This did not augur well; but whether the sufferers were Christians or natives they could not tell.

Next day a number of Indians came on board, with apparent confidence and cordiality; and, pronouncing several Spanish words, the apprehensions of the admiral began to be allayed. On the morrow, however, his doubts were at an end; for, on anchoring near the town of Nativity, some Indians came along side, and inquired for him by name, presenting a compliment from the cacique Guacanagari. From them he had the sorrow to learn, that the greater part of his colony was dead, and the rest gone into distant countries. Columbus concealed his suspicions, and dismissed the messenger with presents for the prince.

Ruin and desolation met his view, on entering the port of the Nativity: the town was burnt to the ground, and not a soul was to be seen. The bodies of eleven Spaniards were discovered, who seemed to have been dead a month. Ruminating with regret and resentment on this disastrous event, he received a visit from the brother of the cacique, who informed him that he had scarcely sailed, before the colony began to quarrel; each person endeavouring to amass as much gold, and to monopolize as many women as suited his appetite or his avarice; that having committed a murder on one of their assosiates, ten of them had retired into the dominions of Caunabo who was lord of the mines, by whom they were put to death, and who afterwards destroyed the town with all the inhabitants. He further represented, that Guacanagari, having espoused the cause of the Spaniards, was wounded in the conflict; and in consequence was now under confinement. This story exactly tallied with intelligence received from some Spaniards, who had been sent up the country to reconnoitre. The admiral therefore paid the cacique

a visit next day, and was received with every token of affection and concern. The prince repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned regret; and displayed his own wounds and those of his men, which had been received in defence of the settlement. Compliments of condolence being passed, the cacique presented the admiral with eight strings of white, red, and green stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of the same metal, and three calabashes full of gold dust, weighing about 100 pounds. In return for such valuable articles, Columbus gave him toys to the amount of three reals, which he highly prized; and, though extremely ill, insisted on attending his guest to the fleet, where he first saw some horses, with surprize. He was afterwards instructed in the mysteries of the Christian religion, which, with some hesitation, he embraced.

The admiral being disgusted at the sight of a place which had been the scene of so many disasters, sailed to the eastward with his whole fleet; and, passing the small though pleasant isles of Monte Christo, anchored before an Indian town, where he designed to plant a colony.

Having landed those that were intended for settlers in a commodious plain, he built a tower, to which he gave the appellation of Isabella. The spot lay under a rock, on which a fort might be easily erected; the harbour was large, and in the vicinity ran a stream of excellent water, from which the town might conveniently be supplied. At no great distance, the mines of Cebao were said to lie. To ascertain this, the admiral dispatched a captain and fifteen men; and on the 2d of February he sent off twelve of his ships to Castile under the command of Antonio de Torres.

The party sent to explore the country informed the admiral, that on the second day they came to the pass of an almost inaccessible mountain; and at the distance of every league found a cacique, by whom they were hospitably received. On the sixth day they reached

the mines of Cebao, where they actually saw the Indians collecting gold from a small river, as they afterwards did from many others of the same province.

This grateful intelligence assisted to revive the admiral, who had experienced a fit of sickness from fatigue; and on the 12th of March he set out for Cebao, well attended by men on foot and horseback, leaving, however, a strong guard under the command of his brother Diego Columbus. This precaution he took in consequence of a conspiracy which he had detected and quelled on board, and likewise to secure the settlers from any sudden attack. He took such necessaries with him as he judged proper to build a fort in the province of Cebao, for the protection of those he meant to leave there to gather gold; and to intimidate the natives, he marched his people through their villages in rank and file with arms and accoutrements, trumpets sounding, and colours flying. The inhabitants seemed to have no idea of private property: they endeavoured to make free with whatever pleased their fancy, and showed surprise at meeting with a repulse. The whole way was agreeably diversified with pleasant mountains, covered with wild vines, and various sorts of fragrant trees.

On the 14th of March the admiral proceeded for the river of Canes; and soon reached another, to which he gave the appellation of the Gold-river, because here he discovered some grains of that precious metal. Having with some difficulty passed this large volume of water, he found a considerable town with the doors barricadoed against him with canes. He entered the province of Cebao on the 16th, which, though not very fertile, yields plenty of grass, and is watered by rivers abounding in gold.

His first attention was directed to the building of a fort in the centre of the mines, and in a situation naturally strong. This fortification he called the castle of St. Thomas. It was garrisoned by fifty-six men, under the conduct of Peter Margarite.

The admiral, having communicated his instructions and advice to the garrison, set out on his return for Isabella, where he found cucumbers and melons raised from European seeds, fit for the table; and ears of wheat, which had been sown only two months, ripe and luxuriant. Vetches produced a crop in twenty-five days, and sugar-canes budded in the same space. Columbus saw and admired the fertility of the soil; nor were the climate and the water less agreeable to his wishes.

A messenger arrived on the 1st of April, with intelligence that the cacique Caunabo was preparing to attack the fort of St. Thomas. To this Columbus gave little credit, as he did not suppose the natives had either resolution or force to make any impression on it; but wishing to leave every thing in quiet, before he proceeded on further discoveries, he dispatched a reinforcement of seventy men. Meanwhile he completed his town, which was regularly disposed, and supplied with water by an artificial canal. He likewise resolved to send all the superfluous hands back to Spain, European provisions beginning to fail, and the health of several, in consequence, appearing to decline. The more robust he ordered to traverse the island, that they might make discoveries, and become habituated to the Indian diet.

Accordingly four hundred Spaniards departed from Isabella on the 29th of April, and having crossed the river del Oro, apprehended a cacique, whom, with his brother, they sent to the admiral in irons for breach of trust. Another cacique, relying on the services he had done the Spaniards, accompanied the prisoners to Isabella, in order to intercede for their liberation. The admiral received him courteously, and, to enhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out for execution. The mediator, with a flood of tears, begged for their lives, which were granted to his friendship and solicitations. Immediately after their release, a person on horseback

arrived from St. Thomas's, who told the admiral that he had rescued four Spaniards, who had been taken by the cacique's subjects by way of reprisal, and that four hundred persons fled at the very sight of his horse.

Columbus having made preparations for a new expedition, left a council, of which his brother was president, to govern in his absence. He then sailed to Cuba; and on the 3d of May discovered Jamaica, where he was informed there was plenty of gold. This island appeared beautiful in the extreme. A number of natives came on board to barter provisions for toys. Coasting along the shore, he sent out his boats to sound, when they were unexpectedly surrounded by armed canoes. The Spaniards, however, not being intimidated, saluted the assailants with a flight of arrows, by which several were wounded, and the rest fled with precipitation. The admiral having repaired his ship, stood over again for Cuba, determined to discover whether it was an island or a continent. The same time a young Jamaica Indian requested to accompany Columbus to Spain; and, in spite of the remonstrances of his countrymen and friends, persisted in his resolution. It is needless to say he met with a kind reception.

Having reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. He found the whose sea in this quarter interspersed with little sandy islands, which render the navigation very dangerous. Close to the shore, some of them, however, were very pleasant; and therefore he styled them the Queen's Garden. On these they saw scarlet-coloured cranes, abundance of turtles, and an infinite quantity of singing birds. The very air was impregnated with fragrance, and the senses were recreated with delight. In one of the channels separating these islands, they observed some fishermen in a canoe, exercising their vocation after a new and curious form. A string being tied round the tail of some small fishes, called reves,

which had been taught to encounter their fellows of the deep, by clinging fast to them, both are drawn up together. The Spaniards saw them catch a tortoise by this means, the reve being wound round its neck. It is said that these decoy fishes will sometimes attack sharks of the largest size. The Indians made a present to the admiral of the fish they had caught, for which he gave them a suitable return. He now began to be in great want of provisions; and his health was much impaired by fatigue and want of rest, which he could not venture to enjoy amid such a dangerous navigation.

On the 22d of May Columbus landed on one of these larger surrounding islands, to which he gave the name of St. Mary. Here he entered a town abandoned by the inhabitants, where he found nothing but fish and dogs. Continuing his voyage to the north-east, he became still more embarrassed by the vast number of flats and islands which opened in unvaried succession to his view. With all his precautions, the ship was frequently aground; and seeing no probable termination of the dangers he incessantly encountered, he was induced to relinquish his design of making the circuit of the island, till he should return to Spain.

The admiral now touched again at Cuba. On this occasion one of the mariners having ascended a tree, saw about thirty persons armed with spears and staves called macanas; and among them one clad in a white vest reaching to his knees, and carried by two men dressed in a similar manner, with complexions as fair as Spaniards. As these Indians hastily retired, Columbus next day sent several people on shore to ascertain the truth of this report, but without success.

Some canoes coming off with a supply of water and provisions, one of the Indians was detained as an interpreter; on promise, however, of being set at liberty as soon as he had given the intelligence required. From him the admiral was given to understand, that Cuba

was an island; that the king never deigned to address his subjects but by signs; and that the surrounding coast was low, and full of islets.

Next day they fell in with such a number of turtles, that they actually covered the sea; while the sun was darkened by a cloud of sea-crows. They likewise saw such swarms of butterflies, that the face of day was obscured from morning till night, when a deluge of rain swept them all away.

On the 13th of June Columbus anchored in an island about thirty leagues in circumference, which he named Evangelista; and having wooded and watered, directed his course southward; but soon found himself embayed. Returning to the coast of Cuba, he stood to the eastward; and on the 30th his ship ran aground, and stuck so fast, that it was with great difficulty and some damage she could be got off. While in this vicinity, they were visited by an old cacique, during the celebration of mass. To this service he seemed to pay great attention; and, at its conclusion, signified his belief in the existence of a supreme Being, the rewarder of virtue, and the punisher of vice in a future state.

The admiral put again to sea on the 16th of July. The winds and rains considerably incommoded him at first; but as he approached Cape Cruz, he was overtaken by such a sudden storm, that before the sails could be furled the ships were well nigh overset. Nor was this storm the only evil: they had also to contend with famine. Providentially, however, they reached Cape Cruz, where the Indians supplied them with cassada bread, abundance of fish, and store of fruits. Thus refreshed, they stood for Jamaica, and coasting it to the westward, found it furnished with excellent harbours, and replete with inhabitants.

On the 20th of August, Columbus made the south side of Hispaniola, near Cape Tiberoon, which he then called Cape St. Michael. Soon after, a cacique came on board, who accosted him by name, and pro-

nounced some Spanish words. Towards the end of the month, having lost sight of the other two ships under his command, he anchored near the island of Alto Velo. Here the crew killed eight seals, and caught abundance of pigeons and other birds, which, being unaccustomed to the cruelty of man, had not learned the necessity of flying from his approach.

At the end of six days, the missing ship joined. The admiral then coasted along Hispaniola, where they had a view of a spacious plain, so populous, that for a league it seemed to be one continued city; and near it lay a large lake. Here the natives came on board; and informed them, that the colony at Isabella was well. This pleasing information being received, he dispatched nine men across the island, to inform the planters of his arrival on the coast. Proceeding eastward, he sent his boats ashore for water, near a populous town, whence the inhabitants sallied with bows and poisoned arrows, to oppose a landing. They even produced some ropes, with which they menaced to bind the intruders; but seeing the Spaniards advance without dismay, they threw away their arms, and made a tender to the admiral of all they possessed.

Observing an uncommon fish of great magnitude sporting in the waves, and judging from other indications that a storm was approaching, the admiral wished to find a place of security to anchor in; and had the good fortune to discover an island, near the east part of Hispaniola, called by the natives Adamanai. Here being sheltered, he observed an eclipse of the moon, which was followed by a tempest for some days successively. Having weathered the storm, and reached the eastern point of Hispaniola, he passed over to a little island, named Mona by the Indians; and in his passage from thence to St. John de Borriguen, he was seized with a pestilential and lethargic fever, which soon deprived him of his memory and reason. In this dilemma, his people resolved to proceed to Isabella, where they arrived in five days: and the admiral recovered his

senses, on the fever leaving him; but was long in a feeble convalescent state.

At Isabella he had the felicity of finding his brother Bartholomew, who, on leaving the court of England, where, we have previously mentioned, he had been in treaty, received intelligence from Charles, king of France, of his brother's success; and by this monarch he was supplied with one hundred crowns to prosecute his journey to Spain. Unfortunately, the admiral had sailed on his second expedition before his arrival at Seville; but their Catholic majesties soon enabled him to pursue the same track with a fleet of three ships. Bartholomew was constituted. by the admiral, Governor of the Indies. This title occasioned some dispute, and exposed Columbus to the obloquy of his adversaries. The difference was, however, compromised; and he was allowed to bear the appellation of Lieutenant of the Indies. Thus, though the power was the same, the word that expressed it was changed. Man has always been the dupe of terms.

The society and assistance of Bartholomew was a real consolation to the admiral, who, by the misconduct of Peter Margarite, found himself involved in quarrels with the natives. This insolent officer, instead of obeying the orders of Columbus, encamped, with the party with which he had been intrusted to traverse the country, about ten leagues from Isabella, whence he dispatched menacing letters to the council. Finding it impossible to usurp the supreme direction as he wished, and dreading the return of the admiral, he embarked in the first ship bound for Spain, leaving his men without a leader. These, following their own inclinations, dispersed about the country, robbed the natives, carried off the women; and committed such atrocities as alienated the affections of the Indians, and induced them to think of revenge.

Indeed, had the caciques and their dependent lords been firmly united, they might easily have emancipated themselves from the Spanish yoke. But jealousy will

always prevent unanimity among rival powers, even where their interest is the same. Guacanagari continued firm in his professions, and had even incurred the resentment of his brother sovereigns, for the faithful part he had acted. A neighbouring cacique had killed one of his women; Caunabo, the lord of the mines, had stolen a second: to revenge the death of the one, and to recover the other, he earnestly implored assistance. The admiral, out of gratitude, undertook to redress his wrongs. Besides, he had an interest in fomenting dissensions between the Indian chiefs. Policy and morality have ever been at variance, and Columbus studied the latter!

On the 24th of March 1495, the admiral, in company with Guacanagari, set out from Isabella, to prosecute the war against his Indian foes, who had assembled an army of one hundred thousand men; while the Europeans did not exceed two hundred, with twenty horses, and as many dogs.

Never were such disproportionate armies opposed to each other. On the second day, Columbus being in sight of the enemy, divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother Bartholomew, that, by a double attack, the attention of the Indians might be distracted, and their confusion increased. The first discharge of the Spanish cross-bows and musquets threw them into some disorder; but when the Europeans advanced with horses and dogs, the timid and undisciplined multitude fled in consternation and dismay. Numbers were slain and taken prisoners; among the latter was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. The cacique confessed, that he had killed twenty of the Spaniards who were first left at Nativity, and that his intention was to attack Isabella. Such a confession confirmed by actual rebellion, if it deserves the name, was judged so criminal, that the admiral determined to send him and all his family to the tribunals of Spain.

This signal victory and the captivity of Caunabo so

intimidated the Indians, that in the space of a few months the admiral reduced the whole island, and imposed a quarterly tribute on the natives. Peace became so well confirmed, that a single Spaniard could travel over the whole island without molestation, and even experience hospitality and regard. The colony, however, by change of climate and of food, was nearly reduced to one-third of the number originally landed at Isabella.

During this interval of repose, the Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the manners and customs of the natives, and the productions of islands they had not hitherto visited. With regard to religion, every cacique had a detached house set apart for the lodging and service of certain wooden images, denominated Cemis, before which they prayed, and used peculiar rites. Caunabo being interrogated respecting his condition after death, replied, that in a future state he should be removed to a certain vale, where he should associate with his parents and predecessors, and enjoy every sensual pleasure, with the highest relish, unrestrained.

Hispaniola being now in a state of submission, and the colony established and protected, the admiral resolved to revisit Spain, to give an account of his proceedings, and to refute the charges of some malicious accusers. He therefore embarked on the 10th of March, 1496, on board two ships, with two hundred and twenty-five Spaniards and thirty Indians, and immediately steered for the eastward.

The wind proving unfavourable, and provisions falling short, he was obliged to stand to the southward, and on the 9th of April anchored at Marigalante. Next day he sailed to Guadaloupe, and sending his boats ashore, the crews were opposed by a number of armed women, who rushed out of a wood. The mariners resting on their oars, ordered two of their Indian females to swim to land, and inform the islanders, that provisions were

their only objects, for which they would make a liberal return.

These Amazons having understood the demand, pointed to the northward, where their husbands would supply them. Accordingly, on the ships coasting round, a number of people came down to the beach, and let fly a shower of arrows at the boats. It was at last found necessary to discharge a broadside from the ships against these determined islanders. On this they instantly fled, abandoned their houses, and left them to the mercy of the Spaniards. Their effects, being now considered as lawful plunder, were seized without remorse, and their houses destroyed. A sufficient quantity of bread was found to supply the wants of the ships; and in some of the dwellings, which were all square, they discovered honey, wax, and some implements of iron. A man's arm, roasting on a spit, appeared to have been the intended meal of one family.

The admiral now dispatched forty men to obtain intelligence of the country, who returned next day with ten women and three boys, among whom was the spouse of a cacique. This lady, notwithstanding her fleetness, was secured by a Canary man, whom she hoped and attempted to make her prey. These women were enormously corpulent and clumsy; they had long hair flowing down to the shoulders, and were swathed with cotton from the ankle to the knee. This was the only dress they wore. The captive princess said the island was inhabited by women only; and that among those who opposed the landing were only four men. At certain seasons of the year, it appeared that the males visited them for a short space, and then retired. This was likewise the case in another island, possessed by the same sort of Amazons, who seemed to be endowed with a masculine understanding, and strength not common among the males of this climate.

The ships being furnished with a supply of necessa-

ries, set sail from Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, after the admiral had dismissed the captive females, except the princess and her daughter, who preferred accompanying Caunabo to Spain. This man it appeared was one of their countrymen, though he had risen to be a cacique of Hispaniola.

When the ships were about one hundred leagues west from the Azores, provisions began to run short, and the crews were obliged to be put to a short allowance. On the 8th of June, several days after all the reckonings of the pilots had been out, but exactly as the admiral calculated, they made the land of Odenicra, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. By this time the famine was so severe, that some proposed to eat the Indians, while others recommended their being thrown overboard to lessen the consumption. The admiral rejected both those proposals with disdain, and exerted his utmost address to protect the wretched captives. Next morning his humanity received its recompense in a sight of land, which so well accorded with his prediction, that his men began to think him inspired.

The admiral being landed, set out for Burgos, where their Catholic majesties were then celebrating the nuptials of their son prince John with Margaret of Austria. He met with a favourable reception; laid before the king and queen specimens of the various productions he had accumulated in his voyage; and presented them with a considerable quantity of gold dust, pieces of that metal, and articles of manufacture enriched with its plates.

His next business was to vindicate his conduct from some aspersions, with which envy had tarnished his character. In this he apparently succeeded to his wishes; but when he requested to be sent back with supplies to the colony, which he justly represented as being in want of men and necessaries, so dilatory was the court, that many months elapsed before he could obtain the object of his wishes. At last an incom-

petent relief was sent off in two ships, under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronell. The admiral was once more reduced to the necessity of unheeded solicitation. The Spanish ministry thwarted his designs; their majesties perhaps were jealous of his superior character; and the bishop of Burgos, a man of considerable influence, exerted all the arts of low cunning to bring him into disgrace. This person was the inveterate enemy of Columbus; and in the sequel it will appear was the chief author of his calamities.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

THIRD VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

THAT patient fortitude and perseverance, which were characteristic of Columbus, enabled him at last to carry his point. He forwarded and superintended his new expedition with all possible diligence; and at last, on the 30th of May 1498, set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda with six ships filled with necessaries for the settlers; resolving to prosecute his discoveries with fresh alacrity.

On the 9th of June, he took in refreshments at Madeira; and on the 19th reached Gomera. Here a French ship having captured three Spanish vessels, put to sea with them, on the appearance of the squadron. The admiral being informed of this capture, ordered his ships to chase, but the French escaped by dint of sailing.

Columbus now proceeded to Ferro, from which he dispatched three of his ships to Hispaniola, under approved officers, while he with the rest should sail towards the Cape Verd Islands, and from thence direct his views to the discovery of the continent.

On the 25th of June, the admiral came to an anchor in Bona Vista, where he found a few houses for the

accommodation of lepers, who are landed here for a cure. The Portuguese who had the charge of the island supplied Columbus with such articles as they could spare; and upon his inquiring how the leprosy was healed, was informed, that the patients trust chiefly to the temperature of the air, and the flesh of tortoises, with the blood of which they were externally anointed.

Turtles and goats were extremely numerous in this island, of the latter of which many are salted and sent to Portugal.

At St. Jago, the admiral wished to take on board some cows and bulls for his plantation in Hispaniola; but finding some difficulty and delay in obtaining this object, he sailed without accomplishing it; resolving to steer south-west till he should reach the line, and then to alter his course to west. He proceeded accordingly: but provisions and water falling short, he determined to change his direction and make for Hispaniola. He therefore stood to the northward, when one day, about noon, a sailor from the round-top saw land to the westward, about fifteen leagues distant, stretching towards the north-east as far as the eye could reach. The mariners sung the *Salve Regina*; and the admiral gave the new-discovered land the name of Trinity, from the circumstance of three mountains presenting themselves to his view at once.

Continuing his course due west, he discovered the continent at the distance of twenty-five leagues, on the 1st of August; but mistaking it for another island, gave it the appellation of Isla Santa.

Columbus, for better security, proceeded to a more westerly point of land, denominated del Arenal. In his way he was followed by a canoe with twenty-five men, who stopped within musquet shot, and shouted aloud. He endeavoured to allure them to the ship, by displaying some brass ornaments and looking-glasses; but this expedient proving, in this instance, ineffectual, he ordered one of his men to ascend the poop,

and play on the tabor and pipe, while his companions danced round him. No sooner did the Indians hear the music, and observe the gesticulations of the Spaniards, than they took them for a signal of war, and prepared for a resolute defence. The savages however retired on a discharge of cross bows from the ship; but they went along side of another caraval, without apprehension; and some civilities were interchanged between them and the captain. Their complexions were pretty fair; they had long hair tied with strings, and wore girdles of cotton cloth.

Having watered his ships at Arenal, from artificial trenches which he found on the shore, he proceeded north-west to another mouth or channel, which he called Boca del Drago, and which is formed by a point of Trinity island meeting another from the continent. In the midst of the Boca del Drago he anchored; and here the currents were so strong, and the roaring of the waves so terrible, that the mariners were filled with consternation and fear. They however escaped without damage; and the admiral again weighing anchor, sailed along the south coast of Paria, as he called it, which he then conjectured was an island; and hoped to find a passage northward to Hispaniola; but in this he was at last undeceived.

The boats being sent on shore on the 5th of August, found plenty of fruits and wood; and observed traces of the natives who fled at their approach. A little further down the coast, a canoe with three men came off, and met with the usual kind reception and presents from the admiral, after which they were sent ashore, where a number of the Indians were assembled. These being satisfied of the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, commenced a traffic with them. The males covered their heads and waists with cotton cloth; but the females were in a state of perfect nudity. They seemed more civilised and tractable than the Hispaniolans; but, like them, showed the greatest predilection for brass toys and bells.

Nothing valuable appearing among the productions of this quarter, save a few inconsiderable plates of gold suspended from the necks of some of the natives, Columbus taking six of the Indians on board, and sailing westward, touched at two lofty and well-peopled islands, which seemed more rich than those he had left. The inhabitants wore strings of beads or pearls round their arms, and had heavier plates of gold. The admiral having purchased some of the pearls, which he was informed were found to the westward and northward of Paria, sent off some boats to inquire into the circumstances of this valuable fishery. The natives received the Spaniards with every mark of amity and hospitality, and expressed their desire to live with the Europeans in those sentiments.

Columbus, continuing to sail westward, found the water become more shallow; and having reconnoitred the coast by means of one of his smaller vessels, discovered that what appeared to be islands was one continuous continent. He was therefore obliged to return to the eastward; and, with some difficulty, passed the straits lying between Paria and Trinity islands. He now sailed along the coast of Paria; and after passing some islands, entered the harbour of Domingo on the 30th of August, where his brother had built a city of that name.

Columbus, almost blind with incessant watchfulness, and quite exhausted with fatigue, now flattered himself with the hopes of reposing in the bosom of peace and tranquillity. Alas! his expectations were vain: the whole island was in a state of confusion; the greater number of the settlers were dead; a new and dreadful disease, which poisons the springs of life, had attacked about one hundred and sixty; a considerable party had rebelled under a person whom he had constituted chief justice; and to complete his chagrin, the three ships dispatched from the Canaries were not arrived. After a tedious voyage, in which a great part of the provisions was spoiled, these vessels, how-

ever, at last arrived. The admiral's brother having informed him of the circumstances of the revolt, he was resolved to transmit an account of it to their Catholic majesties; and as the rebels complained of being detained on the island, a free passage was offered to such as were desirous of returning to Spain.

After many altercations, it was settled that the admiral should deliver up to Roldan, the ringleader of the revolt, two good ships well provided, to transport him and his adherents to Spain: that he should issue an order for the payment of their salaries and wages to the day of their departure; and that within fifty days from the ratification of this convention, the malcontents should quit the island. Matters being thus compromised, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ships; but from the scarcity of stores and the turbulence of the weather, some time having elapsed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, the port from which the embarkation was to be made, Roldan changed his intentions; and taking advantage of the unavoidable delay that had intervened, he renounced the stipulations, and refused to depart. The officer who conducted the ships to their destined port having in vain exhorted the rebels to acquiescence in their original engagements, entered a protest against their proceedings; and returned to the admiral, to whom he reported Roldan's objections. Columbus, well knowing the disaffection of his own people, was eager to heal this new breach; and consenting to a conference with the rebel chief, it was stipulated that the admiral should send home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the first ship bound for Spain; that those who remained on the island should have lands and houses in lieu of pay; that an act of amnesty should be published; and Roldan himself reinstated in his office of perpetual judge. Having at last adjusted this irksome affair, Columbus sent out a captain with a body of men, who were to traverse the island and reduce the rebellious Indians; while he himself proposed to re-

turn to Spain, and to take his brother the lieutenant with him.

In the meanwhile Alonzo de Ojeda arrived with four ships from a cruise, and putting into Yaquimo, not only committed unprovoked outrages on the Indians, but began to tamper with the Spaniards. To these he insinuated, that queen Isabella was in a declining state of health, and that after her decease Columbus would find no protection at court; but, on the contrary, would fall a victim to the enmity of Ojeda's kinsman, the intriguing bishop of Burgos.

These proceedings having reached the ears of the admiral, he dispatched Roldan with twenty-one men against him, who, coming upon him suddenly, rendered escape or resistance impracticable. On this, Ojeda altered his tone, excused his landing on a pretence of wanting provisions, and declared he had no intention to disturb the quiet of the island. He then recounted some discoveries and adventures on the coast of Paria; and concluded with a promise, that he would soon sail round to Domingo, and have a personal interview with the admiral.

Notwithstanding these professions, he sailed to the province of Xaragua, where he seduced a number of persons that had lately been in rebellion; and arrogated to himself and Caravajal a superintending power over the admiral, by the appointment of their Catholic majesties. He even instigated some to attempt force to carry their wishes; but being opposed by the sound part of the Spaniards, a tumult ensued, in which some lives were lost; and Roldan being again sent to attack him, forced the intruder to take refuge on board his ships. By a stratagem, the justice got possession of his boat. This obliged him to consent to a treaty, and to leave the coast.

Soon after his departure, another commotion was raised by one of the former partisans of Roldan, who wished to marry the daughter of Canua, queen of Xaragua; but being opposed in this design, he con-

certed measures for taking off the chief justice. Roldan having obtained intelligence of his intentions, concerted his plan so well, that he seized the chief conspirators; and being directed by the admiral to punish them according to law, one of the ringleaders was hanged, others banished, and some left to the disposal of Columbus.

This example of severe punishment, which was become absolutely necessary for the maintenance of subordination, had such a salutary effect, that tranquillity was restored throughout the whole island, both among the settlers and natives. About this time, gold mines of the most superior richness were discovered; and every person began to labour in them on his own account, paying, however, one third of his produce to the king. So prosperous was this trade, that one man has been known to collect forty ounces in a day; and one lump of pure gold was discovered weighing no less than one hundred and ninety-six ducats.

While the zeal and activity of Columbus were displaying themselves, in appeasing the troubles and promoting the prosperity of Hispaniola, for the honour and interest of their Catholic majesties, he had little reason to apprehend that a storm was collecting against him at home, and just ready to burst on his head. During the late commotions, a number of complaints had been preferred against him by those whose criminal views he thwarted. He had been represented in the worst colours that ingenious malice could devise; and the friends of the complainers being reinforced by his private enemies about court, such a clamour was raised in Castile, that the people crowded round their majesties, demanding justice against the proud and imperious foreigner, who had oppressed and drawn from their native country, to death and ruin, so many of the Spanish gentry. That mob, which a few years before almost idolized him for his discoveries, now inveighed against him on this very account, as being destructive to their countrymen; and the

court, who wished, no doubt, to reap the benefit of his labours without the tax that gratitude and original conditions imposed, at last yielded to the importunity. Their Catholic majesties gave a commission to one Francis de Bovadilla, a person in low circumstances, to proceed for Hispaniola, under the title of Inspector general. By virtue of his authority, he was to take cognizance of the admiral's conduct; and if he found him guilty, he was to send him to Spain, and supply his place. This license blinded his justice and stimulated his ambition; for no sooner was the inspector arrived at St. Domingo, than he took possession of the admiral's palace. He then assembled all those whom he found disaffected to Columbus or his brother; declared himself governor; and, to attach the people to his interest, proclaimed a general remission for twenty years to come. His next step was to require the admiral's presence; and to enforce this, he dispatched the king's letter, which ran in the following tenor. It is worthy of being preserved, as it shows how little reliance is to be put in the gratitude of princes or in the stability of favour.

To D. Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean.

WE have ordered the commendary, Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with some things from us. Therefore we desire you to yield him entire credit and obedience. Given at Madrid.

May 21, 1499.

By command of their highnesses, Mic. Perez de Alamazon. Signed { I, THE KING. I, THE QUEEN.

Columbus did not hesitate to obey this summons. He set out immediately for St. Domingo, to wait on Bovadilla, who clapt him and his brother Diego in irons on ship-board; and placing a strong guard over him, denied him all access of his friends.

A process was then instituted against the admiral and his brother: their enemies were admitted as evi-

dences; and no depositions were so absurd, incoherent, or malicious as to be rejected on that account. It was determined to convict him, that Bovadilla might retain his station.

Bartholomew, the lieutenant, was not yet returned from Xaragua, and it is probable he might have rescued his brother by force of arms, had not the admiral requested him quietly to submit to the authority of the new governor. The consciousness of innocence would not suffer this great man to attempt a defence by force. No sooner had Bovadilla secured the persons of the brothers, than he gave positive orders to the captain of the ship, on landing, to deliver them to Fonesca, the implacable enemy of Columbus. The new governor then began to squander the king's treasures among his creatures; to countenance profligacy and oppression; and to overturn all the salutary regulations of his eminent predecessor.

Andrew Martin, the captain of the vessel which carried Columbus, ashamed of seeing such a man in irons, wished to knock them off. The admiral insisted on wearing them during the whole of his passage, observing that he was resolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward of his services. This resolution he never changed: the fetters were always preserved as the most precious relics, and, at his own request, buried in the same coffin with him.

On the 20th of November 1500, having arrived at Cadiz, he wrote a letter to their majesties, giving an account of his treatment. He received a very gracious answer, in which concern for his sufferings was joined with censure of Bovadilla's conduct. He was invited to court, with a promise that he should shortly be reinstated in all his honours.

On his arrival at Granada, the king and queen confirmed by words their obliging intimations in their reply; and assured him he should have ample satisfaction. In the mean time, having ordered an investigation to take place, and the accusations appearing malicious-

and frivolous, he was most honourably acquitted. A new governor was nominated for Hispaniola to redress the admiral's grievances, and to oblige Bovadilla to make restitution. This power was delegated to Nicholas de Obando, a man of abilities, but insidious and revengeful. At the same time it was resolved, that Columbus should be sent on some voyage of profit and honour, till Obanda should settle the affairs of Hispaniola. But the admiral, chagrined at the ingratitude he had experienced, and apprehensive of future disgrace from the machinations of his enemies, declined the enterprise, till he was strongly solicited by their majesties, and assured of their zealous protection.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

FOURTH AND LAST VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

A SQUADRON of four ships, with one hundred and forty men on board, being equipped, under the superintendance of Columbus, he set sail from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1501, for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portuguese, who were reported to be in great distress; but before he arrived, the Moors had raised the siege. He therefore proceeded immediately for the Grand Canary, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for his voyage.

On the evening of the 25th he weighed and stood for the West Indies, with such a propitious gale, that he reached Martinico on the 15th of June; and soon after, standing to the westward among the Caribbee islands, he steered for Domingo, with a view of changing one of his ships which proved a bad sailer; and hoping afterwards to continue his voyage to the coast of Paria, in quest of the straight which he supposed lay near Vuagua and Nombre de Dios.

But that the new governor, sent out to regulate the affairs of the colony and to recall Bovadilla, might not appear to be taken by surprise, he dispatched before him one of his captains to signify the reason of his pursuing this course. So little inclined was the governor to assist the admiral with another ship, he would

not even allow him to enter the port; and disregarding the prediction of Columbus, who foresaw an approaching storm, permitted a fleet of eighteen sail to put to sea for Spain, having on board Bovadilla and the rest of the admiral's opponents.

This squadron, however, had hardly weathered the eastern extremity of Hispaniola, before they were overtaken by a terrible tempest, in which the commodore, with Bovadilla and almost all the principal rebels, foundered, and not more than three or four ships of the whole were saved; while Columbus, aware of the impending danger, sheltered himself under the land in the best position he could. But the wind soon rose to a perfect hurricane, and his three consorts were forced out to sea. The Bermuda, commanded by Bartholomew Columbus, was saved by the admirable skill and dexterity of this accomplished seaman; being a bad sailer, her danger had been most imminent. In a few days the ships all joined the admiral in the port of Azua. Though a revengeful temper and a superstitious mind might have found consolation in the idea, that this dreadful tempest had been the destruction of his enemies, Columbus felt more chagrin than satisfaction when he reflected, that he was denied shelter in that very country he had discovered, and annexed to the crown of Spain, in whose service he still laboured. His enemies, less liberal, less enlightened, ascribed this storm to magic; and to give weight to this belief the only ship out of eighteen that arrived in Spain was the Aguja, on board of which were four thousand pesos of gold, the property of the admiral.

Unwilling to enter into disputes with the governor, Columbus refreshed his men in the best manner he could in the port of Azua, and thence sailed to an harbour of Brasil, called Gracchimo by the Indians. Leaving this, he was so becalmed, that instead of continuing his course, he was carried by the currents near Jamaica. However, after some delay, standing southward for the continent, he reached the islands of Gua-

nara, near the country now called Honduras, where Bartholomew landed, and found a numerous population, and some pieces of lapis calaminaris, which the seamen mistook for gold. While he remained here, he descried a large canoe with an awning made of palm-tree leaves, under which the women and children were sheltered from the weather; and though the vessel was manned by twenty-five stout Indians, they suffered themselves to be captured without the least resistance.

This vessel being replete with goods and domestic utensils, gave him a favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with the commodities of the country. On examining the cargo, it was found to consist of quilts and cotton shirts, of various colours, together with long sheets, in which the women wrapped themselves, long wooden swords, sharpened on each side with flints, hatchets and copper bells. The provisions consisted of such roots and grain as were usual in Hispaniola, and a kind of fermented liquor made from maize. They had likewise abundance of cocoa-nuts, which being the representative of coin here, were proportionably valued. These people seemed to have a due sense of modesty and decency; which decorum of manners made such a favourable impression on the admiral, that he ordered them to be treated with peculiar respect; restored their canoe; exchanged for European articles such commodities as he wished to retain, and dismissed them well pleased. One old man, however, who cheerfully undertook the office of interpreter, and seemed to be a person of wisdom and character among his countrymen, was kept during the course of the voyage; and having acquitted himself with fidelity in the department he undertook, was at last discharged with many valuable presents.

Though the admiral soon learned from this intelligent guide, that a people of great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity, inhabited a country to the westward;

yet conceiving he could at any time sail thither from Cuba, for the present, he resolved to explore the imagined strait in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the South Sea, and thus reach the spice country. A misconception of the Indians' meaning had given rise to the supposition, that such a strait existed: they intended to describe an isthmus, which Columbus mistook for a narrow gulf, extending from sea to sea.

In quest of this strait, he sailed towards a point on the continent, which he named Casinus, from the quantity of trees growing there, bearing a fruit so called by the Hispaniolans. In the vicinity of this cape he saw people with painted shirts, like coats of mail, sufficiently strong to defend them against the weapons of the country, or even the stroke of a sword. Further to the eastward, near Cape Gracias a Dios, the natives were of a savage aspect, and cannibals. Sailing still to windward, on Sunday, August 14, 1502, Bartholomew Columbus with a large party went ashore to hear mass, and on the following Wednesday took possession of the country for their Catholic majesties. Immediately, above one hundred Indians laden with provisions ran down to the shore; but perceiving the boats, suddenly retired in silence. The lieutenant ascribing this to timidity, employed the interpreter to ingratiate himself with them by means of trinkets and bells, which were so acceptable, that next day they returned in greater numbers, bringing with them hens, geese, fish, and other kinds of provisions. The country, though low, was beautifully verdant; producing pines, oaks, palms, and mirabolans. Among the quadrupeds were deer, and a species of leopard. The features of the inhabitants resembled those of the islands already described: they covered their loins; and every nation spoke a language of its own. Their bodies and arms were ornamented with different figures indented by fire. They seemed to

have no religion; but on festivals they painted their faces of various colours, so as to make a most terrific appearance.

The wind and currents being contrary, the admiral spent seventy days in sailing sixty leagues to the eastward. On the 14th of September, he reached Gracias a Dios, so called, because the land trending off to the south, gave him an opportunity of prosecuting his voyage with the trade-wind.

On the 16th, the boats being sent ashore to water, one of them, with all the men, was unfortunately lost by a violent surf or rippling, occasioned by the conflict of the current and the wind. To this river he gave the appellation of De la Disgracia, or Disaster. Running further to the southward, he anchored near the town of Cariari, in the vicinity of an island named Quiriviri, which in population, soil, and situation, was distinguished above every place he had yet visited. The town was watered by a large river, on the banks of which a multitude of people appeared, some armed with bows and arrows, others with palm-tree lances pointed with fish bones, and a third description with clubs. They seemed to have been collected to defend their country from invasion; but being satisfied of the pacific disposition of the Spaniards, they eagerly wished to barter their commodities, consisting of arms, cotton, sheets, and guaninis, which are ornaments of gold for the neck, for articles of European manufacture; but the admiral, to give the savages the highest idea of their visitors, as if they were superior to all mercenary views, presented them with trinkets, for which he would not suffer any thing to be taken in exchange. This served only to whetten their desire for traffic; they invited the Spaniards to land; but finding they could not succeed, they retired, leaving every article they had received in a small heap on the shore. The Indians, conceiving that the strangers distrusted their sincerity, sent down an ancient man of a majestic presence, with a flag on a staff, attended by two

young women, having guaninis about their necks. These females, at the earnest request of their guide, were sent on board the admiral; and being handsomely entertained, were dismissed to rejoin the veteran and about fifty of his countrymen on the beach.

Next day the lieutenant going ashore, two of the Indian chiefs taking him by the arms, with a gentle violence made him sit down on the grass between them. Thus situated, he began to interrogate them, and ordered the secretary to write down their answers. But having themselves performed some magic ceremonies before they approached the Spaniards, they conceived that pen, ink, and paper were the instruments of sorcery among the strangers, and fled in great consternation when they were produced. Bartholomew found means to quiet their apprehensions, and afterwards visited their town, where he saw several tombs in a large wooden structure covered with canes. They appeared to possess the art of embalming the dead. Over each of the sepulchres was a board, carved with the figures of beasts, or the effigies of the deceased, with the native ornaments.

The appearance of the country and the manners of the inhabitants excited the admiral's desire to become better acquainted with both. He therefore ordered seven of the Indians to be secured, and selecting two of the most intelligent-looking persons among them, dismissed the rest with presents, assuring them, that their companions were detained for no other reason but to act as guides and interpreters, and that in a short space they should be set at liberty. This detention, however, was ascribed to avarice; and next day four ambassadors arrived with a present of two wild hogs to ransom their countrymen. The deputies were treated with the greatest civility, well repaid for their hogs, and sent away satisfied, that no harm would befal their comrades on board.

One of the sailors having caught a wild cat of ex-

traordinary size, compared with the same animal in Europe, the crew entertained themselves with letting it loose on one of the hogs, which had been brought for a present. Though naturally very ferocious, no sooner did it see the cat, than it ran about the deck in a fright. The admiral perceiving this, ordered a hog to be brought near the cat in confinement, which immediately winding its tail about the hog's snout, and with its fore leg fastening on the poll, would soon have dispatched it, had not the attendants interposed. From these circumstances it was clear, that those cats hunt like the European wolves.

On the 5th of October, the admiral entered the spacious bay of Caravaro, in which are many islets. On one of these small islands they discovered twenty canoes, and their crews hard by them on the shore, without the least article of dress or ornament, save little plates of gold round their necks. These betrayed no symptoms of fear, but readily exchanged a gold plate weighing ten ducats for three horse-bells; and gave the Spaniards the agreeable intimation, that gold was abundant in that neighbourhood.

Next day a boat's crew met with ten canoes full of people, who declining to part with their gold plates, the admiral ordered two of them to be taken, for the sake of obtaining information by means of the Cariari interpreters. These confirmed the report of gold being found at the distance of two days journey up the country.

Sailing from thence, the admiral, some days after, entered the river Guaiga, where his boats were violently assaulted by a party of one hundred Indians; who resolutely ran into the water up to the middle, brandishing lances, blowing horns, and showing every mark of aversion and defiance. The peaceable demeanour of the Spaniards soon appeased these hostile menaces; and for a few horse-bells the natives exchanged gold plates to the value of one hundred and

fifty ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuscade, and perceiving that no one would venture to land without security, they rushed into the water, and repeated the same insults as on the preceding day. The Spaniards being exasperated at their insolence, wounded one of them with an arrow; and at the same time, a cannon being fired, they fled in the greatest consternation. Then four men landing, invited them by signs to return; on which they laid down their arms, and entered into peaceable traffic.

Columbus having procured specimens of the produce of this part of the country, proceeded to Catiba; and casting anchor in the mouth of a large river, saw the natives preparing for defence. However, they sent two deputies along-side in a canoe; and these having discoursed with the interpreters, came on board the admiral, and presented him with their plates, for which he made them a satisfactory return. Amity being thus established, the Spaniards went ashore, and found the king surrounded by a number of his subjects, from whom he was in no respect distinguished, but by a single leaf of a tree, which in some degree protected him from the rain. The sovereign having first exchanged his gold plate, his people speedily followed his example. At this place was seen a considerable mass of wall, apparently constructed of stone and lime; the first trace that had been discovered of architectural skill in the new world. Sailing to the eastward, the admiral passed Cobravo, and several towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was collected, and the plates made. On the 2d of November, he entered a harbour, to which he gave the appellation of Porto Bello, from its beautiful situation. The weather proving unfavourable for proceeding, he continued here for seven days, during which space, a constant communication and commerce was kept up with the natives.

Leaving Porto Bello, the admiral directed his course to the eastward; but next day was forced back; and

running in among the islands near the continent, where the town of Nombre de Dios now stands, called the place Puerta de Bastimentos, from the quantity of provisions. A boat, well manned, being sent in pursuit of a canoe, the Indians on board it were so terrified, that they leaped into the sea, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Spaniards, escaped by dint of diving and swimming. Here Columbus remained for a fortnight, when he sailed for Guiga, where a body of three hundred Indians appeared ready to open a trade with the Spaniards. Without making any delay here, he put into a small confined port, which he named Retrete, capable of containing no more than six ships, with an entrance not more than twenty paces wide. In this place he lay nine days, at first trading very familiarly with the Indians, till the insolence of one of the sailors provoked them to open hostility. Their courage increasing daily with their numbers, and the admiral having in vain endeavoured to allay the commotion, found it absolutely necessary to alter his deportment, to prevent their aggression. He therefore ordered his men to fire some pieces of cannon, which they answered with noise and vociferation, as if they despised the explosion which they believed to be the effect of thunder. On this one of the great guns was loaded with shot, and the ball falling in the midst of a party assembled on a hillock, convinced them that they had something more than noise to apprehend. Ever after they kept out of sight. These people were tall and well-shaped. In the harbour, alligators were numerous. These animals slept ashore, and emitted a musky scent. They appeared ravenous when they could take an advantage; but cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving that the winds continued to blow with violence from the eastern quarter, and that he was precluded frou trading with the inhabitants of this coast, resolved to srtisfy himself in regard to the authenticity of the report, concerning the mines of Veragua, and accordingly sailed back to Porto Bello.

Next day the wind shifted; and for some time the weather was so boisterous, that a man could scarcely stand on deck. The clouds seemed to be melting into a deluge; the whole air appeared like a sheet of lightning; and the thunder rolled incessantly over their heads. The mariners, worn out with fatigue, and terrified with this unusual commotion of the elements, were driven to despair. Amidst this danger and distraction, they were in the utmost peril of being overwhelmed by a dreadful water-spout, which rising from the sea, about the thickness of a butt, seemed to reach the clouds, and burst with a tremendous roar. To darken their prospect, they lost sight of one of the ships; and it was not till the end of three days that they found she was safe.

At this crisis, when almost hope was lost, a calm ensued, of two days continuance, during which they were surrounded by sharks so voracious, that they were caught with any bait. In the belly of one, an entire turtle was found alive. Though these fishes were regarded as ominous, and their flesh but indifferent food, the sailors, beginning to be pressed with famine, ate them with great eagerness. Indeed all their sea stores were consumed except their biscuit; and this was so full of maggots, from the heat and moisture of the climate, that they generally ate it in the dark, to conceal the disgust of the vermin with which it was filled.

On the 17th of December, Columbus reposed his crews for three days in a harbour east of Pennon, called Huiva by the natives. Here they observed that the natives lived in huts erected in the tops of trees, to secure them from wild beasts and land floods, or enemies of their own species; for war frequently raged along the coast. On quitting this harbour, a new storm arose, and they were obliged to take shelter in another port. The 3d of next month the weather became more moderate; but as if Providence had resolved to thwart the expedition, no sooner were they

again under sail, than the wind freshened and became contrary; and they were buffeted about by the waves, till they were driven back to one of their former ports.

After some repairs, and laying in a fresh stock of such provisions as the country supplied, Columbus once more set out; but he was so perplexed with currents, and fatigued with tempests and contrary winds, that he gave this coast the appropriate name of de Contrastes, or the Coast of Contention.

At last he reached the river of Veragua, whose waters were very shallow; but the boats proceeded up to the town, near which the gold mines were said to lie. At first the Indians stood on their guard, and menaced opposition; but our Indian interpreter giving a favourable representation of the views and conduct of the strangers, they were appeased; and bartered away twenty plates of gold, and some grains of the same metal in their native state, which they said had been collected in desolate mountains, at a very great distance.

Two of the ships, with the admiral on board, went up a river in the vicinity, to which he had given the appellation of Bethlem; and here they found the Indians ready to exchange their commodities, particularly fish, which at certain seasons of the year swim up the rivers in incredible shoals. The other ships having joined, Bartholomew, the lieutenant, went up the river with the boats to the city of Quibio; and the king, hearing of his design, in token of friendship, met him in his canoe. Next day he visited the admiral; and after an hour's conversation, and an interchange of presents, he departed extremely gratified.

Soon after, the river swelled by the floods so suddenly and so high, that the admiral's ship parted her cable, and ran foul of another vessel; by which accident both were in imminent danger of being lost. This prodigious rise was supposed to be occasioned by some cloud having burst on the lofty mountains of Veragua.

On the 6th of February 1503, the lieutenant and

sixty-eight men ascended the river to the cacique's town, on purpose to inquire the nearest road to the mines. In consequence of the intelligence received, they travelled several leagues, and arriving at the place where they were directed, gathered some gold about the roots of large and lofty trees. As the sole aim of the journey was to obtain information respecting the mines, the party returned well pleased with their adventure; though it afterwards appeared, that the mines of Veragua lay much nearer, and that they had been purposely sent to the mines of Urira, a nation at war with Quibio.

A few days having elapsed, the lieutenant with fifty men set out again for the river Urira, seven leagues westward of Bethlem; and next day had an interview with the cacique, when some plates of gold were exchanged. The Spaniards were then conducted to the town, where they were hospitably entertained and lodged. Soon after their arrival at this place, the neighbouring cacique of Dururi waited on them: he had a numerous retinue, and several plates of gold were bartered by his people. The news of gold being found most grateful to the ears of the Spaniards, this cacique pleased the lieutenant, by informing him, that in the interior parts there were caciques who possessed abundance of gold, and maintained armed men like the Spaniards.

Bartholomew, sending back a part of his men to the ships, proceeded with the remainder to Zobarba, where he saw above six leagues of ground full of maize, in good cultivation. Here the natives were kindly attentive, and furnished him with some plates of gold; but having advanced a great way from the ships, and found no place more convenient for a colony, which it was intended to settle, than Bethlem, he returned with a good quantity of gold, and a resolution was now taken to leave a colony here of eighty men under his command. The necessary dispositions being made, they began to erect timber houses, covered with palm

leaves, in the vicinity of Bethlem river; and several pieces of cannon, ammunition and provisions were lodged in the magazine apart; while other stores were placed on board one of the ships, the Gallega, for the use of the colony. As fish abounded on the coast, they had an ample supply of nets and other fishing tackle. The Indian mode of catching fish here was with hooks made of tortoise shell. Pilchards were their usual prey. In the middle of their canoes, from stem to stern, they had a partition of palm leaves two yards high; and plying about the river, made a noise with their oars so as to alarm the fish, which mistaking the leaves for land, frequently darted against them, and fell into the canoe. Their principal beverage was a kind of beer made of maize. They also made a pleasant wine of palms.

Every thing having been provided for the comfort and security of the new colony, the admiral was determined to return to Spain; when his voyage was effectually retarded by the lowness of the water in the river, which would not float his ships, as well as by a terrible surf, which threatened destruction to any vessel on the shore. This circumstance was the more unfortunate, as the rains were past, which alone could swell the river; and the ships' bottoms were perfectly worm-eaten. To complete the calamity, it was casually discovered, that Quibio intended to destroy the settlement, as having been formed contrary to his inclination and that of his people. In this dangerous dilemma, the admiral concerted measures with his brother. It was therefore proposed to take the cacique and his principal men prisoners, and to carry them hostages to Spain. Accordingly the lieutenant and seventy men proceeded to the village of Veragua, where he received a message from the cacique, desiring he would come up to his house, which stood apart on a hill. He had now occasion for all his address. He resolved to accept the invitation with five men only; having ordered the rest to follow two and two at some distance, and,

on hearing the report of a musket, immediately to surround the house. Quibio meeting the lieutenant at the door, was immediately seized; and the signal being given, the Spaniards encircled the house. The prince being taken, about thirty attendants made no opposition. But as they were conveying the cacique on board, he found means to leap into the river; and darkness setting in, it was impossible to recover him, or to know the event. After a fruitless search, the party returned overwhelmed with shame and vexation.

Finding it impracticable to recover the fugitive Indian, the lieutenant and his men came on board the admiral, and presented the plunder of Quibio's house, which was pretty considerable. A fifth part was deducted for their Catholic majesties; and the rest distributed among the party engaged in the expedition.

The river being again swelled by the rains, Columbus found means, though with much difficulty, to get over the bar into the sea. He then waited for a fair wind to carry him to Hispaniola, from whence he purposed sending supplies to his new settlement. During this interval, the boat providentially went ashore, and was the probable salvation of a number of Spaniards. For Quibio no sooner saw the ships at sea, than he resolved to attack the settlement; and the surrounding woods facilitated the enterprise. But the lieutenant, with undaunted resolution, sallied out on the enemy, and compelled the savages to retire, just as the boat reached the shore. In this encounter, a Spaniard was killed and seven wounded, among whom was the lieutenant himself. The enemy, however, again and again returned to the charge; and the spirit of the Europeans was thus broken as well as their number reduced.

Meanwhile the admiral waited impatiently for favourable weather to send the only boat ashore which remained, for intelligence previous to his leaving the coast; and in this interval, some of the prisoners es-

caped in the night, and the rest hanged themselves in despair; so that no hostages for Quibio's peaceful demeanour were left. From the inclemency of the elements, no boat could live; and the anxiety of Columbus increasing, he engaged one of his pilots to swim ashore for intelligence. This hazardous enterprise he happily accomplished, and returned with a melancholy detail of attacks without, and animosities within. Bartholomew found it impracticable to maintain his authority; and the settlers were unanimous in nothing but in quitting the place. The admiral seeing no other alternative than to expose the settlers, among whom was his own brother, to certain destruction, or to take them on board, did not hesitate what line of conduct to pursue. He received and accommodated the colonists in the best manner that the circumstances of his ships would permit. All the goods and stores were carried off; and nothing of value left, except the hulk of the ship intended for the use of the settlement, which was found too rotten to be of further service.

The admiral, having yielded to imperious circumstances, which frustrated his reasonable expectations of deriving credit and advantage from erecting a settlement on the continent, sailed along the coast to the eastward, contrary to the judgment of all his pilots, who thought it possible to reach Domingo by bearing to the north. The superior nautical skill of Columbus and his brother taught them otherwise. They were nevertheless exposed to the obloquy of ignorance; and murmurs and apprehensions were spread, that he had it in contemplation to sail directly for Spain, without having taken in provisions adequate to the voyage.

Having reached Porto Bello, he was obliged to leave another of his ships, which was totally decayed. He then passed Porto Retrete, together with a number of minute islands; and having weathered the point of Marmora on the continent, on the 1st of May, he

stood to the north, with both wind and currents setting from the east.

The principal navigators affirmed, that he was already to the eastward of the Caribbees; but he himself was fearful he should not yet be able to fetch Hispaniola, and his judgment was verified. After a run of several days, he found himself among the islands called the Queen's Garden, ten leagues to the southward of Cuba. By this time the ships were so leaky that they could scarcely be managed by the pumps: the strength of the crews was exhausted; andthey were at a short allowance of very indifferent fare, had it been unlimited. In this melancholy situation, they were overtaken by a storm. The two ships ran foul of each other, and had nearly foundered: however, Providence again favoured the admiral; with difficulty they got clear, and dropped their anchors. What increased their thankfulness was, to find in the morning, that only one strand of the cable was left uncut: had this given way, they must have been dashed on pointed rocks.

The weather having become moderate, Columbus sailed to an Indian town in Cuba, named Mattaia, where he laid in some refreshments. But finding it impossible to bear up for Hispaniola, he stood over to Jamaica, with the ships almost full of water, in spite of all their exertions. At last he reached the harbour of Santa Gloria, well guarded by rocks; and finding it impossible to keep the ships longer afloat, he ran them aground, side by side, and ordered sheds to be made on their decks for the protection of his men. By this expedient he had the crews more under control than if they had been on land, and better guarded from any attack of the natives. With that wisdom which always marked his conduct, he appointed two persons to superintend the market, that equal justice might be done on both sides; and the Indians, sure of honourable treatment, might be ready to supply him with provisions, or to engage in traffic. These regu-

lations were alike grateful to his own men, who were well supplied, and to the Indians, who frequently exchanged their animals and provisions for a bit of tin, a few glass beads, or a hawk's bell. A chief was sometimes complimented with a red cap, a small looking-glass, or a pair of scissars.

But though they were now freed from the pressure of want and immediate danger, this was not the scene of their rest. The admiral next consulted how to transport the party to Hispaniola; and after mature deliberation, it was resolved that two canoes should be dispatched thither with an account of their misfortunes, and a pressing solicitation to the governor, to send a ship for their relief. James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's secretary, embarked in one canoe with sixteen men, Spaniards and Indians; and the command of the other was given to Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman, who had the same number of hands. This last had orders to return immediately with the news of their safe arrival; while Mendez should continue his route over land to St. Domingo.

The men left, soon began to grow sickly from the fatigue they had undergone, and a change of diet; and illness always fosters a spirit of discontent. They now caballed against the admiral, as if he had no wish to return to Spain; they anticipated the refusal of the governor of Hispaniola to grant any assistance from his previous conduct; they even suggested that the canoes were lost, or some tidings would have been received from the secretary. Hence they concluded, that it was their best plan to leave the admiral, who was very ill of the gout, and to follow their companions to Hispaniola, where their desertion would be a passport to the governor's favour. Two brothers of the name of Porras were the suggesters and supporters of these sentiments; and as the bishop of Burgos, the sworn foe of Columbus, kept one of their sisters in quality of concubine, they did not doubt but they should meet with protection in Spain. These insinua-

tions had their full effect; and about forty-eight of the men having fallen into their line, preparations were diligently made for the execution of their design.

Matters being ripe for a discovery, on the 2d of January 1504, captain Francis de Porras, who had been elected leader, ascending the quarter-deck, where the admiral lay confined in bed, insolently demanded the reason why he did not return to Spain, but kept his men to perish in such a situation. Columbus, suspecting a conspiracy, calmly replied, that it was impossible to return to Spain without a vessel; that both interest and duty prompted him to be gone; and, that, for the gratification of his people, he would summon all his officers to consult on the means of forwarding their wishes. This mild remonstrance had no effect on Porras. He said it was now too late to waste words; that if the admiral did not immediately embark, he might stay alone. Then raising his voice, he exclaimed, "I am going to Spain with those who are inclined to follow me." By this his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took possession of different parts of the ship, so that uproar and confusion were universal. The noise of this tumult roused the admiral from his bed of sickness: he started up, and was only withheld from rushing into the midst of the conspirators by the affectionate restraints of his servants, who dreaded he might be murdered. The lieutenant, after bravely rushing out on the mutineers, was disarmed and confined, having cautioned Porras in vain to reflect on his conduct, which would meet with exemplary punishment. The ringleader, disregarding this advice, and seizing ten canoes which had been purchased of the Indians by Columbus, embarked with all his adherents, who expressed the same exultation as if they had already been landed in Spain. On this occasion, some who had not joined in the conspiracy, despairing now of relief, desired to be taken on board, to the infinite sorrow of the admiral and his few remaining followers. Had the whole

been in health, it is probable that none but his brother and his domestics would have remained in their duty.

The mutineers coasting along the east side of Jamaica, committed all manner of outrages on the natives, and desired them to apply for redress and indemnity to the admiral, who was the author of all their calamities; and to put him to death, should he deny them satisfaction.

Having carried their malice as far as diabolical invention would go, they began their voyage for Hispaniola, with some Indians, whom they compelled to act as rowers. They had not, however, made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, began to freshen, and the sea to rise and to fill the canoes. Being unacquainted with the mode of navigating such vessels, they thought to lighten them by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the ocean. This inhuman design they executed on some; others being thrown overboard alive, swam till they were exhausted; then hanging by the canoes for breath, the detestable monsters cut off their hands; and in this manner eighteen perished. Probably not one would have escaped, had not a few been saved out of a cruel charity to carry them back to Jamaica; as they found it impracticable to proceed. Having relanded on this island, a council was held; when some proposed that they should take advantage of the winds and currents to run over to Cuba, whence the passage to Hispaniola was short: others advised attempting to make their peace with the admiral; but a majority of voices agreed, that after it became calm they should pursue their former voyage. Having waited a month for a favourable opportunity of leaving the island, and having made two unsuccessful efforts, they at last marched by land to the westward, plundering the natives as they advanced.

The first care of the admiral was to efface the bad impressions which the mutineers had made on the In-

dians, and in this he fortunately succeeded; for they supplied him with provisions as before. His next object was to recover his people by the supplies he could procure for their relief. But the Indians attending no further to agriculture than was absolutely necessary for their own subsistence, began to feel a scarcity; and the admiral being in a situation that no longer challenged obedience and respect, they became indifferent about his wants. The sagacity of Columbus, ever prompt at expedients, supplied him with a most extraordinary resource for retrieving his character and credit with the savages. Knowing by calculations that in three days there would be an eclipse of the moon, he sent an Indian of Hispaniola to assemble the chiefs of the district, on an affair of importance to them all. Having obeyed the summons, he told them by his interpreter, that he and his people were Christians, and believed in God who created the heaven and the earth, protected the righteous, and punished the wicked; and therefore would not suffer the rebellious Spaniards to pass over to Hispaniola, though he had by his Providence conducted the messengers sent by him, because their design was laudable; that the same All-mighty and All-just Being was incensed against the Indians for becoming negligent in supplying his people with provisions, and was determined to punish them with plague and famine. As a token of which, they would that very night see the moon rise with an angry and bloody aspect, to denote the misfortunes that were about to ensue.

As fear or belief operated on the mind, this prophecy had different effects. But when they perceived the moon in reality eclipsed, and darkness increasing as she rose, universal consternation prevailed. They came running from all quarters, laden with provisions; and with loud cries and lamentations supplicated the admiral to intercede with God in their behalf; and that for the future they would be attentive to all his wants. Having obtained this promise, Columbus said he would

use his influence with the Supreme; and accordingly shut himself up; while the Indians remained without, howling in the most piteous manner, and imploring his assistance. When he perceived the eclipse about to decrease, he came out, and bad them be of good cheer; his prayers for them had been heard; and that God had forgiven them, on condition of their being kind and hospitable to the Christians. In confirmation of this, he assured them, they would speedily see the moon lay aside her wrathful aspect, and shine with her former splendour.

This prognostic being verified, they adored the God of the Christians; and ever after continued to supply him and his men to the utmost of their abilities; for though they must have observed eclipses before, they thought it impossible to predict them, and therefore considered Columbus as an immediate agent of the Deity. On a review of this artifice, we cannot refrain from observing that it was strongly tinctured with impiety and presumption; but it was surely less culpable than many which the professed servants of the Supreme Being have used to promote less honourable ends.

Eight months had now elapsed since the departure of the messengers to Hispaniola; and even the firmest resolution began to waver. It was generally supposed they had perished in the sea, or been massacred by the Hispaniolan Indians. These apprehensions were confirmed by the information of some of the natives of Jamaica, who said they had seen a canoe overset, driven on the coast by the tide. Every day adding strength to fear, a new conspiracy was formed; at the head of which was one Bernard, an apothecary. The plan was to desert the admiral, in imitation of the former mutineers; but happily this was rendered abortive by the arrival of a ship from Hispaniola. The captain, whose name was James de Escobar, having come to an anchor, visited the admiral with compliments from the governor; who being, he said, unprovided

with a ship sufficient for the purpose of transporting so many men, had sent him a present of a cask of wine and two flitches of bacon. Having delivered this commission, without waiting for a reply, he weighed anchor, and sailed again the same evening. Though Columbus was stung to the soul by this abrupt departure, he concealed his emotion; and affected to say, that the caraval had sailed by his directions; because, being too small to take the whole party, he was determined they should not be separated. This declaration once more silenced the conspirators. But the truth was, the governor of Hispaniola, being jealous lest Columbus, on his return to Spain, should supersede him, had sent to reconnoitre his situation, with a view of destroying him. By the arrival of this ship, however, Columbus had received undoubted intelligence, that his messengers had been able to discharge their mission; and he indulged the hope, that their remonstrances would procure him at last the wished-for relief.

These resolute adventurers, faithful to their charge, had contended with many difficulties in their passage, but at last surmounted them all. For two days they continued rowing and paddling, during which they sustained the extremes of thirst, heat, and fatigue; and some of the Indians actually died for want of refreshment. At the end of the second day, they began to suspect that they had missed the right course, and despondency began to seize them; but observing the moon rise over-land, which proved to be a small island about eight leagues from Hispaniola, their hopes revived with the prospect. For this spot they rowed with intense efforts; and next morning going ashore, found it barren and desolate; but it furnished water, of which some drank to such an excess, as to produce dropsies and other dangerous distempers. Having refreshed themselves in the best manner they could, they steered their course for cape St. Michael, the nearest land in Hispaniola, where they safely arrived. Fiesco,

having reposed himself two days, would have returned to the admiral, as agreed; but neither sailors nor Indians would accompany him. As for Mendez, though he laboured under a quartan ague, he set out immediately for Xaragua, and set forth the admiral's situation to the governor; who, after much importunity, gave him permission to purchase a ship at St. Domingo. This vessel afterwards sailed for Jamaica, from whence Columbus dispatched her with packets for their Catholic majesties.

A desire of reconciliation for the benefit of all parties prompted the admiral to attempt to bring the Porras back to their duty. To enforce his arguments, he set before them the prospect of a speedy voyage to their own country; informing them he had received a promise of being relieved by a caraval from Hispaniola; and, in confirmation of the truth of this, sent them a part of his presents. The ringleaders, dreading a runion, employed all their eloquence to dissuade their adherents from accepting the proposals; and word was sent back, that they were ready to depart peaceably for Hispaniola, if the admiral would furnish them with a vessel; or, if he had but one, assign one half of it for their accommodation; and in the meantime divide the clothes and commodities in his possession with them. To this arrogant demand was added a threat, that if he refused to comply, they would come and strip him by force.

This menace they actually resolved to put into execution, and marched down within a short distance of the wrecks. Columbus, being informed of their intention, detached fifty men well armed, under the command of his brother, enjoining him to expostulate with the rebels, and to refrain from hostilities, unless first attacked. The lieutenant, having advanced within bow-shot of the mutineers, desired a conference with their captain. This condescension being ascribed to fear, was treated with contempt; and they immediately fell upon his men in sure hopes of victory. Their

expectations, however, were disappointed. At the first charge, five out of six of the most resolute, who had sworn to cut their way through, were brought to the ground, and among them the two most daring of the conspirators.

As for their leader, Francis de Porras, he was taken prisoner; when the rest turned their backs and fled. The lieutenant, having gained a complete victory, returned to the ships with his prisoners. Himself was wounded in the hand, and another gentleman, being pierced with a spear, afterwards died. This was the only loss that the friends of Columbus sustained. The intrepid pilot, indeed, who swam ashore as formerly mentioned, had a most miraculous escape for his life. This man, being spent with wounds, fell over the rocks during the fray, and was not discovered till next evening, when some Indians found him still alive. His skull was laid open, so that his brains appeared; his arm was almost amputated; the calf of one leg hung by a ligament; and one foot was sliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithstanding these desperate wounds, he so terrified the Indians who approached him, with curses and threats, that they fled in the utmost consternation; but the admiral being apprised of his situation ordered him all the medical assistance in his power, and, to the surprise of every one, he recovered.

To prevent future animosities, and a scarcity of provisions on board, the admiral detained Porras in confinement; and appointed a proper person to command and lead about the captive malecontents, for the convenience of finding subsistence, in exchange for such commodities as they had been supplied with.

All dissensions among the Spaniards being thus composed, the Indians became sensible of the danger of giving them offence, and assiduously supplied them with provisions. A year had now elapsed since the Spaniards were wrecked on Jamaica. The ship which Mendez had purchased, at last arrived; and Columbus, with his whole company, embarked on the 28th

of June, and, after a troublesome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of August, 1504. Here the governor received him with the most fawning attentions; but as a proof that his hospitalities were only affectation, he set Porras at liberty, and even threatened to punish those who had been most active in apprehending him. As soon as the admiral's ship had been refitted, and another engaged for the accommodation of his friends, he sailed for Europe on the 2d of September. But before they had been two leagues at sea, the mast of his consort came by the board; on which she was sent back to be repaired, while he proceeded on his voyage.

After being dismasted in a violent storm, and struggling with many difficulties, as well as a fit of the gout, Columbus at last arrived in the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda. He had no sooner landed than he heard, with unspeakable regret, of the death of his munificent patroness, Isabella; a blow which he never recovered. Ferdinand, indeed, treated him with courteous attention; but gave strong intimations, that the terms he had stipulated for himself were too advantageous, and wished to propose coming to a new agreement. This however never took place; the negotiations entered into were interrupted by the accession of Philip to the throne of Castile; and Columbus, worn out with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghost at Valladolid on the 20th of May, 1506, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His remains were conveyed, by the king's order, to Seville, where, some authors say, he was magnificently interred, in the monastery of the Carthusians; and that a monument was erected to his memory, charged with this inscription,

A GASTILIA Y A LEON
NUEVO MUNDO DEO' COLON.

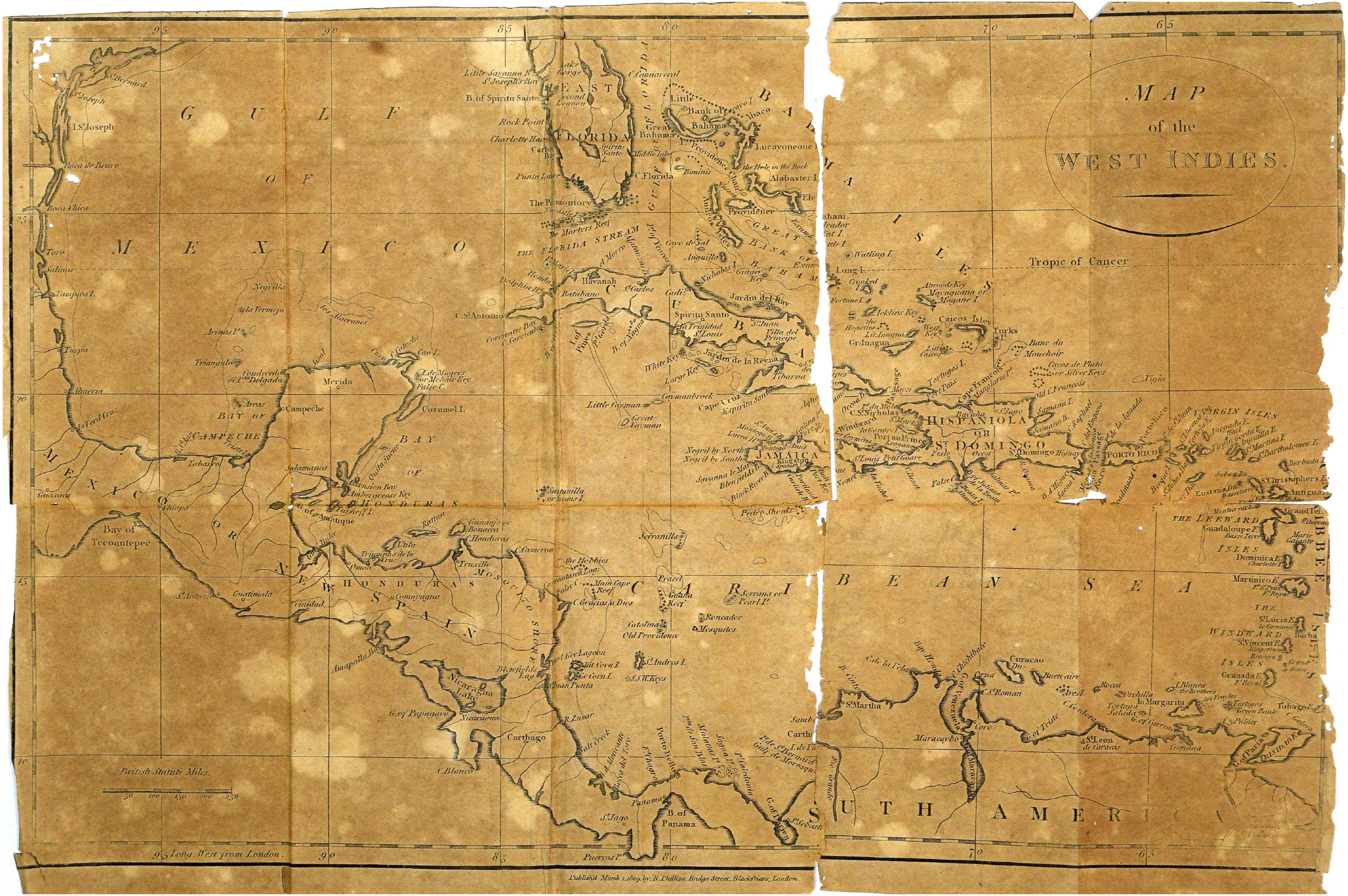
Which may be thus translated:

TO CASTILE AND LEON
A NEW WORLD WAS GIVEN BY COLUMBUS.

Others assert that his monument only exists at Seville; for that his body was buried at St. Domingo, in the chancel of the cathedral; and an article in the public prints from Spain, on the late cession of Hispaniola to France, seems to confirm this belief. For we read, that the remains of Columbus were to be transferred, with great pomp, from St. Domingo to Cuba.

Such were the adventures and the end of Columbus; a man whom all posterity will view with admiration, and honour with applause. The ingratitude he experienced is the usual return for services too great to be repaid. The pander or the minion of power may receive an adequate reward for his degrading servilities; but he who eclipses the splendour of an original kingdom by such an accession as a new world, may excite envy, but cannot meet with a due recompense without being considered as a rival to his prince. Perhaps the grand source of the misfortunes of Columbus was his indiscreet stipulation for a joint authority in his new discoveries. His good sense might have told him, that it was impossible to be a partner with a king.

We shall conclude the history of Columbus' voyages with his character, as delineated by a Spanish writer of veracity. "Columbus," says he, "was tall of stature, "had a long visage, and a majestic aspect. His nose "was aquiline, his eyes gray, and his complexion "clear and ruddy. When young, his hair and beard "were fair; but hardships soon turned them gray. "He was a man of wit and pleasantry, eloquent in "discourse, yet moderately grave in his deportment. "His affability to strangers, and his judicious conver-"sation, gained him the affection of every ingenuous "mind; while an air of authority and grandeur at-"tracted respect. He was strict in his religious ob-"servances himself, and obliged those who were un-"der his command to show at least a decent regard to "this sacred institution. He had an earnest concern "for the conversion of the Indians, and endeavoured


MAP
of the
WEST INDIES.
GULF OF MEXICO
BAY OF CAMPECHE
BAY OF HONDURAS
NEW SPAIN
HONDURAS
MOSQUITO SHORE
EAST FLORIDA
THE FLORIDA STREAM
GULF OF FLORIDA
BAHAMA ISLES
GREAT BANK OF BAHAMA
CUBA
JAMAICA
HISPANIOLA OR ST DOMINGO
PORTO RICO
VIRGIN ISLES
THE LEEWARD ISLES
THE WINDWARD ISLES
CARIBBEAN SEA
SOUTH AMERICA
Tropic of Cancer
Bay of Tecoantepec
Havanah
Merida
Campeche
Cozumel I.
Kingston
Carthago
Panama
B. of Panama
Maracaybo
Curacao
Margarita
Tobago
Trinidad
British Statute Miles.
50 100 150 200 250
95 Long. West from London.
95 90 85 80 70 65
25 20 15 10
Publish'd March 1.1809, by R. Phillips, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London.

" as much as was in his power to allure them, by
" obliging the Spaniards to lead a life in some measure
" corresponding to the faith they professed. His
" courage was undaunted: he was fond of great en-
" terprises, temperate in living, modest in dress, pa-
" tient under injuries; and much more anxious to
" bring his enemies to a sense of their offences, than
" to retaliate injustice. He remained unmoved amidst
" the numerous dangers and adversities that attended
" him, ever placing a firm reliance on Divine Provi-
" dence. In short, had he lived in earlier times, his
" conduct and his achievements would have procured
" him statues and temples in his honour. He would
" have been ranked with Hercules and Bacchus; and
" a constellation perhaps would have borne his name.
" However, he will be remembered as long as the
" world endures."

VOYAGES

OF

THE CABOTS.

IT has been already remarked, that Bartholomew Columbus was sent to Henry VII. of England, to proffer his brother's services; and that these were lost to this country, by the court of Castile at last closing with the proposals of Columbus himself. It seems probable, however, that the ambition or curiosity of the English sovereign, being roused by the details that were laid before him, induced him to wish to participate in the honours and advantages of Columbus' discoveries, if he could not possess the original title to them.

The patronage of a king will always tempt enterprise; and no country is so barren in genius and ingenuity, as not to possess some aspiring minds, to which royal protection and encouragement can communicate an enthusiasm to dare or to suffer.

Sebastian Cabot was born at Bristol, in 1467. His father was a native of Venice; and he educated his son in all those branches of mathematical learning to which commerce had then given celebrity. Before Sebastian was twenty years of age, he had performed several voyages, and, by thus adding practice to theory, he early became eminent in the science of navigation.

The first voyage of importance in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father John, who had obtained a commission from Henry VII. for a discovery of a north-west passage to India, the favourite object of Columbus. They sailed from Bristol in the spring of 1494, and pursuing their course with favouring gales, on the 24th of June saw Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prima Vista, or First Seen. Going ashore on a small island on this coast, they gave it the appellation of St. John's, from its being discovered on the day dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The island was barren; but the sea abounded with fish. The natives were dressed in skins, and armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts, and slings. They returned to England with three savages on board, made a report of their discoveries, and met with a gracious reception. Cabot the father dying soon after, a new patent was granted to his son Sebastian, who set sail again on the 4th of May, 1497, before Columbus commenced his third voyage. He sailed as high as 67 deg. 30 min. north latitude, proceeding from thence down to 56 deg., and then explored the coast of America as low as 38 deg. This part of the continent, he expressly says, was afterwards named Florida. His provisions beginning to be exhausted, he sailed back; and, touching at Newfoundland, returned to England with a full cargo of the productions of the countries he had visited.

It is probable that Sebastian Cabot made several voyages to complete his discovery of the coast of Newfoundland. A map of his discoveries, drawn by himself, with his effigies annexed, was hung up in the private gallery at Whitehall.

Purchas, with the partiality of a man who feels for the honour of his country, expresses some indignation, that the new world should be called America, when Cabot discovered its continent before Americus Vesputius, or even Columbus himself.

Newfoundland was certainly the first of our planta-

tions; and the spirit of enterprise, to which the discoveries of Cabot gave rise, paved the way to the naval power, the commerce, and the glory of this nation. While Spain was debilitated and rendered indolent by the riches poured into her bosom, from the discoveries of Columbus, it was the better fortune of England to secure a soil and climate which gave new stimulus to exertion, and rendered her sons more hardy and more brave.

Of the history of a man, who indubitably first discovered the continent of America, every trace is interesting to a Briton. But, for the space of twenty years, no vestiges of his labours appear. In the eighth year of Henry VIII. he again appears on the stage: he was then furnished with a good ship of the king's, to prosecute discoveries, through the interest of sir Thomas Pert, vice-admiral of England. It seems he had then altered his plan, and intended to sail by the south to the East Indies. For this purpose he proceeded to Brasil: but failing in his design, he shaped his course for Hispaniola and Porto Rico; and, after carrying on some traffic there, returned to England without much increasing his former reputation.

Disappointed, and probably neglected in consequence of his failure, he left England, and entered into the service of Spain, in which he rose to the highest rank, and signalized himself in many hazardous attempts to promote the views of his employers. Fortune, however, frowned upon him. In an intended voyage to the Moluccas, through the straits of Magellan, his men became mutinous, and his project was frustrated. He, however, sailed up the rivers Plata and Paraguay, built several forts, and discovered and reduced a rich and fertile tract of country under the dominion of Spain. After spending five years in America, he returned in chagrin, and met but with a cold reception.

These circumstances conspired to make him anxious to return to his native country; and about the latter end

of the reign of Henry VIII. he again settled at Bristol.

A spirit of commerce beginning to be diffused in England, Cabot, in 1552, was active in an enterprise to fit out some ships for the discovery of the northern parts of the world; and thereby to open new scenes of action, and new channels for traffic. The expedition took place with the patronage of government; and this was the first voyage made to Russia, and the foundation ot that intercourse which has since subsisted between the two nations. Upon this first success, a Russian company was formed, of which Cabot was constituted governor for life.

After an active life spent in the most honourable pursuits, and chiefly employed in the service of his country, he died upwards of seventy years of age. Though his fame must be allowed to be far inferior to that justly due to Columbus, his claims, as an original discoverer, were infinitely superior to those of Americus Vesputius. But fortune, seconded by caprice, has given the latter a name, which we shall now see was neither merited nor just.

VOYAGES

OF

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS;

AND HIS

DISCOVERIES.

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS was descended from an ancient and honourable family at Florence, where he was born in 1451. He early discovered a taste for philosophy, mathematics, and navigation. The discoveries of the Portuguese had called the attention of the studious to a more intimate acquaintance with those branches of literature which are connected with the natural history of the earth and of mankind; and had animated the enterprising to signalize themselves in the line of adventure, which they had pointed out, and to which the genius of a Columbus had just given an eclat that never could be supposed.

We have observed, that after the return of this great man from his second voyage, the malice of his enemies and the jealousy of the court began to show themselves. Alonzo de Ojeda, an officer who had sailed with him, having joined his interest with Americus Vesputius, who burned with an impatience to partake the glory of the admiral, clandestinely obtained from the bishop of Burgos the draughts and plans which he had deposited in the hands of that prelate by order of their Catholic majesties; and being furnished with four ships, according to some writers, set sail from Cadiz on the 20th of May, 1497. Vesputius, whose superior rank or ad-

dress seemed to have made him considered as the principal, fell-in with the coast of Paria, and ran along it as far as Terra Firma and the Gulph of Mexico; and, after an absence of eighteen months, returned to Spain. He did not pretend to dispute with Columbus the original discovery of the West Indies; but wished to have it believed, that he had first found out the continent. To effectuate this, he is said to have falsified dates, for which he has been severely censured; and being an excellent geographer and draughtsman, as well as a plausible writer, he blended different accounts together; and, imposing on the greatest part of Europe, gained an honour to which he had no right, that of giving his name to the new world. But no doubt now remains to whom this distinction ought to have been due; and though we must allow that America, as the name of a quarter of the globe, assimilates better with the rest than Columbia would have done, had the first discoverer of the continent been entitled to bestow an appellation on it, we have seen that this belonged to neither, but to Cabot.

Some months having elapsed, after the return of Americus Vesputius from his first voyage, he performed a second with six ships, under the auspices of Ferdinand and Isabella. It seems, however, that the semblance of justice to Columbus was kept up in the commission which Americus and other following adventurers received; they were interdicted from coming to an anchor within fifty leagues of any place where that navigator had touched.

In this second voyage, or, as some will have it, the first, Americus proceeded to the Antilla islands, and from thence to the coasts of Guiano and Vennezuela; and returned safe to Cadiz in the month of November 1500; bringing back with him many precious stones and other valuable commodities, discovered in the course of his expedition. His services were as ill requited by the Spaniards as those of the man he wished to rival and supplant; and the ingratitude he experi-

enced made him willing to abandon the interest of that country.

Emanuel, king of Portugal, hearing of the disaffection of Americus, and jealous of the success of their Catholic majesties, held out proposals to this navigator, which were readily accepted.

Engaged in the service of Portugal, Americus set sail from Lisbon with three ships in May, 1501. He first ran down the coast of Africa as far as the coast of Angola, and then standing over for the American continent, fell in with the Brasils, which he entirely discovered, and explored as far as Patagonia to the south, and the river La Plata north. He then sailed back to Sierra Leona; and, keeping along the coast of Guinea, returned to Lisbon, after a voyage of sixteen months.

His Portuguese majesty, elated with this success, and grateful to its author, soon equipped six ships, of which he gave Americus the command, to prosecute further discoveries. In this new voyage, it was his intention to stand along the coast of America to the south, in order to discover a passage to the Molucca islands by the west. He examined the coast from the bay of All Saints, as far as the river Curabado; but being furnished with provisions for no more than twenty months, and being detained by contrary winds five months on the coast he had discovered, he was obliged to return to Portugal. He died at Tercera in 1514, and is deservedly ranked among the most celebrated navigators.

FIRST VOYAGE

OF

VASQUEZ DE GAMA,

TO THE

EAST INDIES,

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION ON THE ANTECEDENT DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE.

THOUGH the polarity of the magnet had been discovered about 1300, it was not applied to the purposes of navigation till 1405, when the Portuguese seem to have converted what was before an object of curiosity only, into an engine the most powerful and the most useful in the history of human inventions.

Possessed of such a discovery, favourably situated above all other nations for maritime adventures, and being animated with the spirit of enterprise, it is not to be wondered at, that the Portuguese early gained celebrity for expeditions by sea, which at last roused other nations to follow the same career.

It was, however, to the zeal and magnanimity of the Infant, don Henry, the fifth son of king John, that this nation stands indebted for all the glory they have acquired by their discoveries and conquests in the oriental regions: and what increases our admiration is, that at this juncture a long, a dangerous civil war had but just been composed. The power of the king, too, was far from being great; his finances were extremely low, and his country so indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have recourse to other nations for men to recruit his armies, and to make up the complement of his fleets.

Nor were these considerable, when compared with the navies employed by the king of Spain and the republics of Italy. Yet, under all these disadvantages, the spirit of trade and navigation not only sprang up, but grew and prospered; and this too while many of the statesmen were averse to such undertakings; weighing rather the certain expense, than the probable gain. But the zeal of the clergy overcame the opposition of the nobility; they were inspired with a zeal for propagating the Christian religion in new countries, and they promoted their discovery to the utmost.

By balancing the powers of the Portuguese with the conquests they mad in the east, we shall be led to entertain a very high opinion of their exertions, and of the beneficial consequences which resulted from their successful discoveries.

Don Henry, the patron of enterprise, was a prince endowed with all the great qualities which distinguish heroes from ordinary men. He had manifested his courage, in his youth, in his wars against the Moors; but his mind was too noble to value himself on the arts of destruction, however splendid. He wished to prosecute only such designs as might be beneficial to the human race.

Animated with this resolution, he made himself master of the Canaries, by purchasing the grant which the king of Castile had made to Maciot de Bethancourt. This gentleman, for a valuable consideration, resigned his rights into the hands of prince Henry, about 1406. Ferdinand de Castro, at that time master of the prince's household, was sent to take possession of them. Having now got the key to the coast of Africa, he soon began to fit out ships for discovery in that quarter, and manned them with the most able navigators he could procure.

The utmost limits of the continent of Africa, towards the south-west, at that time known to the Portuguese, was Cape Chaunar, called also Cape Non. It projects from the foot of Mount Atlas. The vessels

now sent out proceeded about two degrees further to Cape Bojadore; but they had not courage to double it. In 1418, Tristan Vaz discovered the isle of Porto Santo. The next year the Portuguese fell in with the valuable island of Madeira, to which they gave that name, from its being covered with wood.

In 1439, a Portuguese captain doubled Cape Bojadore, which some consider as the Cape Canarea of Ptolemy. The next year they ventured yet further to Cape Blanco; and soon after discovered the Rio del Oro, with several islands on the coast.

Nuño Tristan doubled Cape Verd in 1446; and two years after, Gonzalo Vallo sailed to the islands known by the appellation of the Azores. At that time they were uninhabited, and were settled by this commander, who did not, however, visit the islands of Flores and Corvo. These were afterwards occupied by some Flemings.

In 1449, the Cape Verd islands were discovered under the patronage of don Henry. The progress made by that prince gave great satisfaction to the sovereign of Portugal, who, to reward his zeal, made him a grant of Madeira and Porto Santo. The Infant, however, judged it requisite, according to the practice of the times, to obtain the sanction of the Holy See. To negotiate this, he sent an ambassador to pope Martin V. The Holy Father being well disposed to bestow that which cost him nothing, made a free grant to the crown of Portugal of all that should be discovered in that direction to the Indies. The Papal bull is dated in 1444, and was afterwards confirmed by three of his successors, which, however, gave rise to serious disputes.

Judging from the reverence then paid to the court of Rome, we must confess, that prince Henry showed much political sagacity in this transaction. For, by pretending that all countries were to be disposed of at the will and pleasure of Rome, he secured his Holiness' consent to whatever he demanded; and he well

knew that whatever was sanctioned by his grant would infallibly be supported by the thunder of the Vatican. This great prince died in 1463; the continent of Africa under his auspices having been discovered from Cape Non to Cape Sierra Leona, which laid the foundation of all the subsequent acquisitions.

In 1471, Pedro d'Escovar discovered the island of St. Thomas and Prince's Island; and soon after Anno Bueno, now corruptly called Annobon. In 1484, don Cam, a Portuguese, sailed to the coast of Congo; and having received information that a Christian prince reigned in Ethiopia, he magnified his power so much on his return, that John II. who was then on the throne, dispatched two trusty messengers to ascertain the truth of what he had heard concerning this Christian prince, whom he judged to be Prester John; and at the same time to gain more satisfactory accounts of the state of the Indies. The persons who were intrusted with this charge were Pedro de Covillan and Alphonso de Payva, who had strict orders to commit to writing whatever they deemed worthy of remark; but more particularly the situation of places, and the navigation of the coast of Ethiopia, by which, it was rightly conjectured, a new route might be found to the Indies. Our travellers being perfect masters of the Arabic tongue, proceeded to Alexandria and Cairo, and from thence to the port of Aden in Arabia, where they had an opportunity of conversing with traders of all nations, and many natives of India. This enabled them to accumulate a vast quantity of useful information, which they thought would be highly gratifying to the king. Here they judged it expedient to separate; the one to make a tour of the Indies, and the other to proceed to the court of Ethiopia.

Accordingly, Pedro de Covillan set out for the Indies; and, having made an exact map of the coasts, crossed the sea to Africa; and after having visited some of the principal ports in the Arabian Gulph, arrived at Sofala, fully convinced, from many concurring testi-

monies, that a short and easy passage might be found to the east, round the continent of Africa. Elated with these sentiments, he made the best of his way to Cairo, where he hoped to rejoin his companion. But he had the sorrow to hear, that De Payva had been murdered on the road to Ethiopia. For some time he was irresolute how he could best fulfil the objects of his mission; but, after mature reflection, he determined to acquaint the king by letter of the discoveries he had made, and then to pursue his route to Ethiopia. This resolution showed his zeal in the cause in which he was engaged, and his ardent desire of satisfying the prince he served. He began his second journey with the same good fortune as he had executed the first; and was extremely well received by Alexander, emperor of Abyssinia, who was much flattered by the prospect of the friendship of such a powerful prince as the king of Portugal; and promised to dispatch the ambassador with letters expressive of that impression. However, Alexander dying suddenly, his successor not only treated Covilian with coolness, but with disrespect and cruelty; refused him leave to return home, and detained him till it was concluded in Portugal, that some fatal accident had befallen him. However, he lived to recover his liberty.

While his Portuguese majesty endeavoured to gain a due knowledge of the state of the Indies by land, he was not inattentive to the prosecution of the same object by sea. To facilitate this design, he employed Bartholomew Diaz, one of his courtiers, to proceed still further along the coast of Africa. This man to great prudence and deep skill in navigation united invincible courage; and in 1486 he executed his commission with equal conduct and success. He carried out with him several negroes, who had long been in his service; these he set ashore at different places, well dressed and furnished with some goods, on purpose to allure the natives by the show of kindness and generosity.

After coasting along, further than any navigator had hitherto done, he arrived in view of a lofty cape; where meeting with most unfavourable weather, and losing his victualling bark, his crew mutinied, on the pretext that storms and famine were too much to encounter at once. But the captain represented to them, that the former could not be escaped by returning, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they could reach some place where refreshments were to be had. He thus prevailed on them to double the cape, and to sail some distance beyond it, where he erected a stone cross, as he had done wherever he touched along the coast, by way of taking possession in his master's name. Having obtained a small supply of provisions, he returned; and had the good fortune to fall in with his store ship, in which, of nine men left when they parted, only three survived, and one of these died of joy at seeing the captain.

After performing a voyage of sixteen months and seven days, and discovering upwards of one thousand miles of the coast beyond the former limits, he arrived at Lisbon in December, 1487.

Having given a full detail of his expedition, he particularly insisted on the danger and difficulty he had found in doubling that stupendous promontory, which he named Cabo Tormentoso, or the Stormy Cape. But the king, from the lights thrown on the subject by Covillan's letters, which had arrived safe, knew how to form a right judgment of the value of this discovery, and therefore called it Cabo del Buena Esperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope*, a name which it has ever retained. The coincidence between the accounts of the navigator and the ambassador convinced the king, that the passage was now open; and that one voyage more would

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* It is with the sincerest satisfaction the writer reflects, that this valuable Cape is now in the possession of his country. May it remain so to the end of time!

complete the discovery of a direct passage by sea to the Indies.

But while John revolved this great design in his mind, and busied himself in contriving the means of accomplishing it with honour to himself and advantage to his country, the Eternal Ruler of all called him to another state of being. In his last illness he nominated his cousin, don Emanuel, who had also married his sister, his heir and successor.

When this prince ascended the throne of Portugal he was in the flower of his age, and possessed those qualities, in an eminent degree, which dignify a king. He had an excellent capacity, much penetration, and a correct judgement; but, possessing an amiable diffidence of his own abilities, and being well aware that the execution of his predecessor's projects would be attended with a large expense, he privately declined entering into them without consulting his council. The statesmen being, however, put in possession of all the information that had been collected, either by the reigning prince or his cousin king John, were extremely divided in their opinions. Some pressed him to pursue the steps of his ancestors, and to complete with glory what they had begun with reputation; while others vehemently opposed the prosecution of this design; and on both sides he was assailed, as is usual, with such plausible arguments, that neither could confute the other, and reason hung in the balance of suspense.

The advocates for the new navigation contended that the commerce of the east had been the source of wealth and power to every empire that had possessed it; that Providence seemed to have thrown it into the lap of their nation, and therefore, it would neither be honourable nor advantageous to reject it; that the chief difficulties were now overcome, and scarcely any thing remained but to take possession of what all the world was eager to enjoy, though none but themselves knew how to reach; that the engrossing so rich a

trade to Portugal would balance the narrow limits of its sovereignty, and put it on a level with its more potent neighbours; that, in fine, there was no less danger to be apprehended from abandoning the design, than benefit to be expected by its prosecution; since it was probable that their ambitious neighbours, the Spaniards, would pursue and accomplish this grand scheme, and thus enable them to effect whatever the lust of power might tempt them to try.

On the other side, it was alleged, that there were many things more apparently necessary to the well-being of Portugal than such expensive expeditions, which involved an uncertain issue, since much land remained to be cultivated at home, and such internal improvements might be adopted as would enrich the kingdom without distant dependencies; that the population of Portugal was too small for its own extent, and would be still more reduced by foreign conquests; that all their discoveries and acquisitions hitherto had only furnished a few negroes, elephants' teeth, exotic birds, and curiosities, that the golden dreams which had amused them for a century had ended in delusion, and that, finally, even the success of the undertaking might be detrimental to Portugal, as it was possible her interests at home might be sacrificed to those abroad.

These deliberations, in which the cause was canvassed with acuteness, though they did not absolutely carry the king to abandon the design which had been recommended to him with the last breath of the prince to whom he owed his throne, yet for a long time retarded his preparations, and determined him to pursue the project in such a manner as would secure him from the disgrace of serious loss, if he did not reap the full harvest of glory. At last, however, fearing lest other powers should take advantage of his neglect, especially as the Spaniards were vigorously pushing forward their discoveries, he came to a final resolution, to send out a few ships only with a small number of

men; thus endeavouring to avoid extremes, and to steer, as it were, a middle course between the discordant opinions of his council.

In consequence of this determination, in the spring of 1497, he ordered four ships to be equipped for his expedition; of these three were armed vessels, and the other a store ship. The whole force consisted of no more than one hundred and sixty soldiers and seamen. Hence it will be extremely apparent, that it is not a formidable armament, or a vast expense, that is necessary to the accomplishment of a great design; but the choice of a good officer, perfectly master of his plan, and possessing a resolution equal to its completion. All the maritime expeditions, from the beginning of the world to this period of time, are not comparable to what were performed by Christopher Columbus and Vasquez de Gama, in the narrow compass of seven years, with a joint force scarcely adequate to man a fifty-gun ship in the present day.

Before we enter on the history of a voyage which laid open the treasures of the east by a new and easy communication by sea, it may not be amiss to premise, that hitherto the spices and other valuable productions of India and China, were brought in the junks and barks of those countries to the port of Adlu, then a great commercial city on the southern coast of Arabia Felix. Here these vessels unloaded and returned; while the merchants of Adlu, partly relading the goods in their own ships, and partly sending them by land carriage to Jeddo, conveyed them up the Red Sea to the port of Suez. They were then landed, and transported on camels and carriages over the isthmus to the river Nile *, a passage of about fifty miles, and from thence

* Several of the kings of Egypt, sensible of the vast advantages that would accrue to them from a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, endeavoured to cut one, at different times, with immense labour and expense.

to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants, who had monopolized that commerce, received them, and disseminated them over all Europe.

Such was the situation of affairs at the æra we are now to treat of. The person honoured with the command of the expedition for the discovery of the Indies was don Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese nobleman of various distinguished talents, and particularly skilled in navigation. He was appointed admiral on this occasion, and hoisted his flag on board the St. Gabriel, of no more than one hundred and twenty tons burden. The other ships were the St. Raphael, commanded by Paul de Gama, the admiral's brother; and the Berrio, commanded by Nicholas Coello, besides a bark laden with provisions. These ships set sail from Belem on the 8th of July 1497, and after encountering continual storms, in which they frequently despaired of being saved, had the good fortune at last to enter a large bay, to which they gave the appellation of St. Helena, from its having been discovered on the day dedicated to that saint.

The inhabitants of this island were of small stature, ill-favoured and black. When they spoke, they fetched their breath as if they were sighing; they were clothed in the skins of wild beasts; and armed with stakes hardened in the fire, and pointed with the horns of beasts.

Herodotus informs us, that in the time of Pharaoh Necho, or Nechus, this work was attempted, but obliged to be abandoned, after one hundred and twenty thousand men had perished in the undertaking. This scheme was again resumed under the Ptolemies, and again relinquished, from the stupid apprehension that the Red Sea, being higher than Egypt by three cubits, would be in danger of overflowing the land. However, the expedient of a canal was adopted, to communicate between the Red Sea and the Nile; upon which the ports of the latter began to grow very opulent and renowned; and the cities of Coptus and Berenice, in particular, the mart of all the Indian merchandize. But neglect, in time, brought this canal to ruin and disuse.

The admiral ordered search to be made for some river, but without success; however, they found water next day. Gama, in his perambulations, having picked up a native, who was gathering honey, carried him on board; but as they could not understand each other, he was soon after well dressed and set on shore. Next day, about fifteen of the inhabitants, pleased with the attention their countryman had received, came down to the beach; and the admiral meeting them displayed gold, pearl, and spices; but finding, from the indifference with which they viewed those articles, that they were unacquainted with their value, he presented them with small bells, tin rings and counters, which were highly acceptable. In return, they supplied their benefactors with such provisions as the country afforded; but this friendly intercourse was of short duration. A young Portuguese having a desire to visit their towns, was received by the natives with great hospitality, and invited to partake of a seal. This food disagreeing with his stomach, he rose and retired with signs of loathing and disgust; while the natives attended him to the shore. Suspecting they might have some intentions to injure him, he called out for help; when some of his companions landing, behaved in such a manner as made the Indians consider the Portuguese as their enemies. They soon returned with their lances; and while the admiral and his officers were standing unarmed, they fell upon them, and wounded four of them, among which number was De Gama himself.

The Portuguese having revenged this attack, though they were certainly the first aggressors, set sail from St. Helena on the 16th of November, and in two days came in sight of the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled on the 20th, with trumpets sounding and other demonstrations of joy. As they coasted along, the country exhibited a pleasing prospect of woods and lawns abounding with flocks and herds. The admiral having run seventy leagues beyond the cape, entered a

bay, to which he gave the name of Angra de San Blas. The country in the vicinity of this bay appeared very fertile, and abounded with elephants and buffaloes.

A party of the natives were observed hovering round them, in a few days after their arrival; upon which the admiral landed with all his men, well armed, and prepared for either event; but on throwing some small bells towards the negroes, some of them assumed resolution enough to approach and pick them up, and at last to receive them from the hand. The admiral now exchanged a few red caps for ivory bracelets.

A few days after, about two hundred natives came down with twelve oxen and four sheep; and, on the Portuguese landing, began to play on a kind of musical instrument, resembling a flute, which they accompanied with the voice. The admiral striking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to sound, while his men mingled in the dance along with the natives, and thus the day passed in mirth and festivity.

Not long after a number of men and women returned with cattle, of whom the Portuguese purchased an ox; but perceiving some of the negroes armed and skulking behind the bushes, the admiral began to suspect treachery, and ordered his men to retire to a place of security. The negroes followed them some way, and at last joined in a body, as if they intended to fight. De Gama, unwilling to proceed to extremities, withdrew his boats, and ordered two pieces of ordnance to be fired; which so terrified the negroes that they fled without their arms. The admiral afterwards sent some of his men ashore to erect a pillar charged with a cross and the king of Portugal's arms; but the natives pulled it down again before their faces.

On leaving this place they were soon overtaken by a violent storm. On Christmas day they saw land, to which they gave the name of Terra de Natal. They then proceeded to a river called De los Reyes. Here De Gama sent two men ashore

to obtain inteligence respecting the country and its produce. On those dangerous employments he had malefactors to serve. A kind of traffic commenced; and so much was it carried on to the satisfaction of the natives, that the king of the country was induced to pay the admiral a visit on board.

Again drawing near land on the 11th of January, the boats were manned to view it. In sailing along, they saw many negroes of both sexes, who seemed mild and inoffensive. The admiral then sent one of his men, who was well versed in the languages of Africa, with an attendant, to wait on the king, who received them with affability, and dismissed them with presents. His majesty, in return, received a red jacket, a cap, and a pair of stockings, of the same colour; with which he was so delighted, that he strutted about in his finery among his subjects, who clapped their hands in token of joy and admiration. He likewise invited a young Portuguese gentleman to visit him, and entertained him with fowl and millet. The admiral also received a present of fowls; and so grateful was the reception he had met with in this place, that he called it the Land of Good People. The houses were wholly of straw; and apparently there was a greater number of females than males. They used bows and arrows pointed with iron; and showed an amazing partiality for linen, which they purchased on any terms their circumstances would allow.

Departing from thence on the 15th of January, they proceeded along a low flat coast, covered with large and lofty trees, as far as Cape Corientes; missing a sight of Sofala which lay in the way. On the 24th they entered the mouth of a very large river, up which De Gama proceeded with his boats; and had the pleasure to observe, that the natives understood something of navigation, no traces of which had hitherto been seen. The country they visited is now called Cuama: its coast is generally low, but full of trees. Here the negroes came off in their boats without the least hesita-

tion, and behaved to the Portuguese with the familiarity of old friends. This conduct deserved a reciprocal return: the admiral treated them with bells and other toys most acceptable to their taste. No one on board understood their language, so signs were the only interchange of thoughts they could enjoy.

On the third day, two persons of rank arrived in their boats, on purpose to visit the admiral. They wore aprons larger than the rest of their countrymen; and one had his head covered with a handkerchief wrought with silk, the other with a green satin cap. De Gama entertained them courteously, and made them presents of apparel and other articles, on which they seemed to set little value. It appeared, from signs, that they were of a distant country, and that large ships were no novelty to them. They then produced some calico for sale; at sight of which the admiral was penetrated with joy, and all on board were elevated with the hopes of soon reaching the treasures of the East. This river, therefore, obtained the appellation of the River of Good Signs, and here he erected a pillar carved with a crucifix and the Portuguese arms.

They left this river on the 24th of January, and, after a voyage of more than a month, descried four islands, from one of which several boats advanced, and made signs for the ships to wait their coming up. No sooner had the admiral dropped anchor, than the boats approached, full of people of a good stature, with a dark compexion, and clothed in various-coloured calico. They used the Arabian tongue; and, on being entertained on board by De Gama, they seemed to enjoy themselves, and were as communicative as could be wished. They informed him that the name of their island was Mosambique, and was subject to the king of Quiloa; and that it contained a town peopled with merchants who traded to India, and imported its valued productions.

The soil in the neighbourhood of Mosambique was marshy, and therefore unwholesome. The houses

were built of clay, and thatched with straw; but a great number of ships resorting thither rendered the town commercial and populous. The trade was chiefly in the hands of the Arabian merchants, who, in their naval architecture, made use of wooden pegs instead of nails, and mats made of palm-tree leaves instead of sails. They knew the use of the compass, had some astronomical instruments, and were furnished with sea-charts of tolerable accuracy.

The sheik, with his attendants, taking the Portuguese for Moors or Turks, visited the first ship that entered the harbour; but finding none that could converse with them, they soon returned. However, they were not wanting in hospitality. The sheik requested leave to come on board; and De Gama, to prepare for his arrival, ordered the sick men to be removed, and his own ship to be manned with the flower of the crews. The chief appeared richly dressed: he had previously shown a contempt for hawk's bells, trinkets, and toys, and expressed his wonder that the admiral did not send him scarlet. He had a military guard, with drums and ivory trumpets. De Gama received him with marked respect; and conducted him to the cabin, while his retinue remained in the boats. An apology was made for not sending a present of scarlet cloth, because none had been brought. The sheik and his company made themselves welcome on board; and, taking the strangers for Turks, desired to see their bows, and their books of the law. The admiral informed him, that they came from the west, and belonged to a country bordering on Turkey; that they had no books of their law with them; but orders were immediately given to produce different kinds of armour, and to show its use; which greatly excited the sheik's admiration. De Gama requested his visitor would supply him with two pilots; and they, being readily provided, engaged to perform the voyage for a reward of thirty crowns each and a coat.

This friendly intercourse, however, was but of short

duration. The chief no sooner discovered that the strangers were Christians, than his conduct began to betray symptoms of enmity; and he seemed to be plotting for the destruction of De Gama and his fleet. However, the admiral watered his ships by force, keeping the Moors at a distance for fear of the orddance. The tumult, however, was not allayed; and the admiral, to revenge the insults he had received, battered down the town with his great guns, and drove the inhabitants into the country. He took a few prisoners, and, among the rest, a pilot.

Plainly perceiving that a longer stay here would be attended with danger, De Gama steered to another island at a short distance, and from thence to Quiloa; but stress of weather obliging him to return, an Arabian pilot he had brought out with him wished to be carried to Melinda, on his way to Mecca; and as he was now furnished with another pilot, to this assent was given. The weather proving favourable, they again put to sea and made for Mombassa, a city which the pilots observed was chiefly inhabited by Christians. Here they arrived on the 27th of April; but as the ships lay without the bar, a bark approached them in the night with one hundred armed men in the Turkish dress, and were proceeding to board them, had not the admiral insisted on no more than four being admitted. Those who came forward appeared to be above the common rank; but, with a wise precaution, they were desired to lay aside their arms before they were taken on board. De Gama, however, entertained them in a handsome manner; on which they acquainted him, that the king hearing of their arrival had sent his compliments of congratulation, and offered to load the ships with spices; observing, at the same time, that there were many Christians on the island; which so far coincided with the report of the pilots. The next day, the king sent a present of some fruit to the admiral. The deputies professed themselves Christians; and advised him to approach the city and cast

anchor in the harbour, where the king could with more facility give proofs of his desire to oblige him.

De Gama, from so many favourable indications, concluding they were sincere, expressed his gratitude, and promised to comply with his majesty's request. To pave the way to a favourable reception, as well as to obtain some general information, he sent two of his exiles with presents to the king. These were treated with much hospitality, and were indulged with a view of the city. They observed many prisoners in irons, were introduced to two Christian merchants, and dismissed by his majesty with samples of corn and spices, and with orders to communicate to the admiral, that he might there be supplied with gold, silver, and other valuable commodities, at a less rate than elsewere.

An offer so flattering, and apparently so disinterested, could not be refused; and the next morning the admiral prepared to enter the harbour; but the ship striking on a shoal, he again cast anchor; when the pilots instantly jumped into the sea, and were taken up by the natives.

This created some suspicion of the king's intentions. Indeed, his extreme civility from the first savoured strongly of dissimulation, and must have put De Gama on his guard. It afterwards appeared, that having heard of the transactions at Mosambique, this perfidious prince meditated to destroy the Portuguese, while the ships lay in the harbour; but the accident we have mentioned frustrated that scheme. He, however, soon concerted another, with a low cunning, which proved he was fearful of using open force. During night the watch of the flag-ship perceived the cable shaking, and on looking round saw several men swimming about, and cutting it with their swords, to set the ship adrift. Others had got among the tackle of another ship: but on being discovered, they plunged into the sea, and swam to some boats which were ready to receive them.

It was now impossible to doubt of the treachery of

this people, and vain to hope for any advantages to be derived from staying longer among them; the admiral, therefore, resolved to proceed for Melinda without delay. Having got clear of the Bay of Mombassa, he soon after fell in with two sambucos, or pinnaces, one of which he captured. She had seventeen men on board, and a considerable quantity of gold and silver. Same day he reached Melinda, which is only eighteen leagues distance from Mombassa, and situated in 3 deg. south latitude.

The city of Melinda stands on the most level part of a coast generally rocky, and is encompassed with palms and various fruit trees. It was of considerable extent: the streets were spacious, and the houses built of stone, several stories high, with terraces on the top. The natives appeared swarthy, strong, and well proportioned. They wore turbans of silk and gold; and, from the waist downwards, were clothed with silk and cotton stuffs; some wore short cloaks of calico. Being celebrated archers, they seldom appeared without their bows and arrows.

The admiral felt a high degree of satisfaction at the sight of such a city, bearing some resemblance to those in his native land; and came to an anchor within a league of it. Nobody, however, came on board; and it is probable, that the capture of the pinnace made them considered as pirates. An Arabian prisoner, who had engaged to procure pilots, was therefore set on shore; and, being conducted to the king, informed his majesty, that the admiral was desirous of entering into an alliance with him. The king returned a very satisfactory answer, accompanied with a present of three sheep, a quantity of oranges and sugar-canes. A hat, three brass basons, some small bells, and two scarfs were sent for his majesty's acceptance.

Next day, De Gama approached nearer the city, and anchored close by the vessels of some Indian Christians, where the king sent a deputation to inform him, that he meant to visit him in person on the morrow. In

the meanwhile the crews of the Indian ships came on board with the king's permission. They were personable people, of a brown complexion. Their religious rites appeared to have been mixed with many Pagan superstitions. When the Portuguese presented a picture of the Virgin Mary and some of the apostles, the Indian Christians not only fell down and worshipped it, but daily repaired with offerings of pepper and other things, which they ridiculously laid before the representation of the Virgin. The king of Melinda came, according to his appointment, in a large boat with many attendants. He was dressed in a gown of crimson damask, lined with green satin, and wore a rich silk turban. He was seated in an elegant chair curiously inlaid with wire, on a silk cushion, with another by him, on which was placed a hat of crimson satin. Near him stood an old man, who held a rich sword with a silver scabbard. His retinue were also richly dressed; and a band of musicians performed on sackbuts and flutes. The latter were eight spans long, and very neatly executed.

De Gama met the king in his boat adorned with flags, attended by his principal officers. After mutual salutations, at the king's request he stepped into his boat. His majesty viewed him and his men with minute attention, interrogated him in relation to the country he came from, the name of his sovereign, and the motives that induced him to take such a distant voyage. These questions being satisfactorily answered, the king promised to furnish him with a pilot to Calicut, and invited him to participate in the amusements of the place. The admiral excused himself for the present, but promised to take that pleasure on his return; and, to give the king a proof of his friendly intentions, made him a present of all the prisoners he had lately taken.

The prince, highly delighted with this acquisition, was afterwards rowed up to the ships, which he beheld with surprise. The firing of the ordnance gratified

and astonished him prodigiously. He complimented the admiral by observing, that he never saw men who pleased him so much as the Portuguese; and expressed his wish that he had some of them to assist in his wars.

It was on the 22d of April that De Gama left Melinda, and, instead of tracking the coast as he had hitherto done, resolved to trust himself to the ocean. The weather was so propitious to his wishes, that he crossed a sea of seven hundred leagues in twenty-three days; and on the 17th of May the coast of India opened to his view. This was the grand object of his pursuits; and it may be better imagined than expressed, what satisfaction and self-felicitation must fill every breast, when the hills of Calicut were pointed out by the pilot. Transported with joy, the admiral made a grand entertainment for the whole crew, and soon after came to an anchor in an open road, about two leagues below Calicut.

Some fishermen in their boats, in a short time, rowed up to the fleet, being struck with admiration of the ships. They were of a brown complexion, and had only a kind of apron hanging down before. De Gama gave these people a courteous reception; after which they piloted him nearer to Calicut, where he cast anchor, and immediately sent one of his convicts on shore to make the usual inquiries and observations. The natives immediately thronged about the stranger; asked many questions of the fishermen who conducted him; and particularly noticed his dress, so unlike that to which they had been accustomed.

Supposing, however, that they might be able to satisfy their curiosity the better, they carried him to the house of two Moors, one of whom, named Bontaibo, could speak Spanish, and, knowing him to be a Portuguese, whose language bears a strong affinity to that of Spain, asked him what brought him thither. This question in an unexpected tongue having been answered, the Moor told him that he had been acquainted

with some Portuguese at Tunis, from whence he came; but he could not conceive how any ships from that nation could come hither.

Bontaibo returned with the man, and waited on the admiral. So much were he and his crew surprised and pleased at meeting with a person at such a distance from home, with whom they could converse, that the tear of joy started in their eyes. De Gama embraced Bontaibo with the affection of a friend; sat down by him, and, grasping his hand, asked him if he was a Christian, and how he came to Calicut? Bontaibo answered in the affirmative, that he was indeed a Christian, and had been chief contractor for the war-like stores which king Ferdinand had purchased at Tunis; and that he had arrived in India by way of Cairo. He concluded by observing, that he had on all occasions manifested his friendship for the Portuguese, and that he would now promote their interest to the utmost of his power. The admiral cordially thanked him, and promised him a noble reward for whatever services he should render him. On making inquiries relative to the sovereign of Calicut, the Moor replied, that he was a prince of a benignant disposition, and that he did not doubt he would gladly receive the admiral as an ambassador from a foreign king; particularly if he came to establish a trade with the country, the royal revenues arising chiefly from the duties on goods.

The zamorin, as he was called, receiving intelligence that the admiral had letters for him from the king of Portugal, sent to bid him welcome; and at the same time dispatched a pilot to conduct him to Padarane, where there was a convenient harbour for shipping. De Gama was invited to proceed from thence by land to Calicut, where he would be ready to receive him. Fearful of a repetition of the same perfidy he had experienced before, the commander secured his ships with cautious circumspection. Here he received an order from the cutival, or minister for foreign affairs, to land wherever he pleased. De Gama on this,

calling a council of his officers, informed them, that he intended to go and settle a treaty of commerce and perpetual amity with the zamorin. To this his brother alleged, that though this prince and the natives, as they imagined, were Christians, yet there were many Arabs among them, who were their mortal enemies, and would be highly exasperated against them for attempting to interfere in their trade; and therefore, as the success of the voyage depended on his preservation, it would be more advisable to send a deputy in his room; a sentiment which was unanimously approved of by the rest. But the admiral declared, that he was resolved to run every risk; observing, that it was for his majesty's interest to protect and encourage traders; and, as the inhabitants were chiefly Christians, he had nothing to fear. But in case any accident should happen to him, they must give themselves no concern about his safety, but sail directly to Portugal, with the important news of the discovery they had made.

The resolution of the admiral prevailing, he next day set out in his boat, furnished with ordnance, attended by twelve of his officers, with flags displayed and trumpets sounding. At his landing, he was courteously received by the cutival; and, two litters being provided for them, they were carried on men's shoulders, while the rest proceeded on foot. They halted at a place called Capocats, to dine, where they were entertained with rice and fruits. Then entering some boats, they were conveyed down the river.

De Gama and his suite were afterwards conducted to a large Indian temple, built of freestone, and covered with tiles, on the walls of which were many painted images, some with large projecting teeth, and others with four arms, and such hideous faces that the Portuguese began to doubt whether they were in a Christian country or not In the centre of this was a small round chapel, with a tower and a lattice door, to which stone steps on the outside conducted. In the wall opposite to this entrance stood an image, which, from

the darkness of the place, could not be distinctly viewed; and admittance was denied to all, save the priest, who, approaching and pointing to the figure, thrice called aloud, Maria!

When the cutival and his train came before the chapel, they fell flat on the ground, with their hands before them, three times; and then prayed standing. De Gama and his attendants, supposing this to be an image of the Virgin, fell down on their knees, and made their supplications: but one of the Portuguese having some doubt, said, as he knelt, "If this be the devil, I worship God," which produced an involuntary smile from his companions.

They now advanced in procession to the palace, followed by an immense concourse of people; and at their entrance into the city, the press was so great that they were almost stifled. This obliged the cutival to retire with them into one of the houses, where his brother, a person of great distinction, met him with several naires, who were sent by the zamorin to conduct the admiral to court. At least three thousand men in arms attended the procession; which marked attention so highly flattered De Gama, that he turned to one of his officers and said, "Little do they think in Portugal what honour is paid us here."

It was drawing towards the close of day before they reached the imperial palace, which was spacious, and made a handsome appearance. At the palace gate they were received by several of the grandees, who conducted them through five large courts furnished with as many gates, and two porters stationed at each. On approaching the chamber of audience, they were met by the king's chief bramin, a diminutive old man, who embraced the admiral, and conducted them all in. So eager were the populace to catch a glimpse of their prince, that they pressed in with the Portuguese, and some lives were lost. Two of the Europeans also narrowly escaped being squeezed to death.

The hall into which they were introduced presented

an amphitheatre of seats; the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and the walls hung with silk tapestry interwoven with gold. The zamorin lay reclined on a sofa covered with white silk interlaced with gold, with a rich canopy over his head. He was of a brown complexion, a full habit, and appeared advanced in years. He had on a short coat of fine calico, adorned with branches and roses of beaten gold. It was buttoned with large pearls, and the button-holes were overlaid with gold. About his waist was a calico sash which hung down to his knees. His head was covered with a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears were jewels of the same kind; and both his toes and his fingers sparkled with diamond rings. His arms and legs were naked, and adorned with bracelets of gold. In short, his dress was most splendid, and his whole air noble and majestic.

As the admiral approached the presence of the zamorin, according to the custom of the country, he made three obeisances with his hands above his head. His majesty regarded him with complacency; but returned the salute by an almost imperceptible motion of the head. Then making signs for him to advance, he caused him to be seated near him; and the rest of the retinue entering, and paying the same compliment, were seated opposite to him; and were immediately furnished with water to cool their hands, the weather being very hot, though the winter season. The emperor then ordered a collation of figs and jakas to be introduced; and on their calling for water to drink, a gold cup with a spout was brought them. At the same time they were given to understand, that the natives think it impolite to touch the vessel with their lips, and in compliance with the etiquette they held it at some distance above their mouths; but not being accustomed to that mode of receiving liquor, it either made them cough or sprinkled their clothes; which seemed to be matter of entertainment for the whole court.

This repast dispatched, the emperor ordered De Gama, by his interpreter, to lay his business before the officers, who were assembled, that they might communicate it to him. But the admiral modestly intimated, that he could not recede from the practice of the Christian princes of Europe, which was to give an audience to the ambassadors themselves, in the presence of a few of their counsellors. The zamorin said, that he approved of this custom; and ordered the admiral to be conducted into another apartment resembling the first, followed only by his interpreter, his chief bramin, his betel server, and the comptroller of the household. Being seated on a sofa, he interrogated the admiral respecting the country he came from, and the objects he had in view. To this he replied, that he was ambassador from the king of Portugal, the most potent and opulent monarch of the West; who having heard that there were Christian kings in the Indies, of whom the king of Calicut was the chief, he had thought fit to send an ambassador to settle a trade and amity with him: that the predecessors of the king his master had for the space of threescore years been attempting to discover a passage to India by sea; but that none of his captains had been able to accomplish this great design till now. In confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he promised to produce the letters of his sovereign at his next audience; and observed, that he was commissioned to inform his majesty, that the king his master was his friend and brother, and hoped, if his highness accepted of the proffered friendship, he would send an ambassador to Portugal to strengthen it. The zamorin replied, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than such an alliance. He then made some general inquiries respecting the power of his Portuguese majesty; the distance between Calicut and Portugal; and how long he had been on his voyage.

It being now late, and the admiral choosing to lodge in a house apart from the natives, he ordered his Indian

factor to accompany him, and provide what he should have occasion for. He was also attended by the cutival and his officers; but a heavy shower falling, they were obliged to shelter themselves at the factor's, who offered to furnish De Gama with a horse; but, as he had no saddle, he preferred walking on foot to his lodgings.

At this moment every thing seemed to present the fairest prospect of honour and advantage to the Portuguese; but while the admiral was indulging this pleasant dream, he was on the very brink of seeing the fruits of his expectations ravished from him. Formidable rivals started up to oppose his views. The religion of Mahomet had been introduced by the Tartars, and was as predominant there as Paganism. The hatred that the Mussulmen bore to the Christians animated them to revenge; and the Arabs, from several distant regions, carrying on a very lucrative commerce in the countries of Mogul and Malabar, the fear of being supplanted made them conspire the destruction of their new opponents.

The admiral being now secured, the cutival, through the instigation of the Arabs, made use of various artifices to get possession of the ships likewise: in this, however, the vigilance of De Gama disappointed them; and, after much difficulty he once more got on board.

Though the principal in the expedition did not venture to trust himself again on shore, he gave his men liberty by turns to visit the city, where they were kindly received by the Indians, and merchandized without restraint. The natives, on the other hand, daily resorted to the ships in boats, and were well entertained by the admiral.

Matters went on in this train till the 10th of August; when the season for returning being arrived, De Gama sent Diaz, his factor, to the emperor with a present of scarfs, silk, coral, and other articles, ordering him to acquaint his majesty with his intended depar-

ture; and to request, in case he should be inclined to send an ambassador to Portugal, that he might be dispatched. He also informed him, that it was his intention to leave his factor and secretary at Calicut with the goods he had there, till the arrival of another fleet from the West; and, as a confirmation of his having been in India, begged the zamorin would send the king his master a bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of spices, which should be paid for out of the first goods disposed of in the country.

After waiting four days, the factor was admitted to the presence of the prince, who, with a severe look, asked him what he wanted. Diaz with much trepidation delivered his message, and was about to offer the present, when the zamorin refused to see it, and ordered it to be delivered to his factor; and then bid him tell the admiral, that he was at liberty to depart, if he wished; but that he must first, according to the custom of the port, pay him six hundred sharafins. Diaz, however, had no sooner returned to the factory than he was confined there; and proclamation was made through the city, forbidding any one to go on board the fleet, on pain of death. However, Bontaibo had the courage to disobey this mandate, and advised the admiral to be on his guard, informing him, that the Arabs had represented them to the zamorin as pirates; and that they came with no other design but to carry off, by force, the merchandize of the place, and to pry into the strength of the nation. Two days after, some boys came on board offering precious stones for sale; but though the admiral regarded them as spies, he dissembled his knowledge of what had passed, and suffered them to depart, in hopes of alluring others of more consequence on board. This had the desired effect; for the zamorin, concluding from hence that the admiral was ignorant of the detention of his factor and secretary, sent persons on board to amuse him, till he could fit out a fleet, or the ships of Mecca should arrive, to capture him. At length six of the principal

Malabars, with fifteen attendants, coming on board, he ordered them to be seized, and sent back two of the boatmen with a letter in the Malabar tongue, demanding his factor and secretary in exchange. But not arriving so soon as was expected, the admiral set sail, and came to an anchor four leagues below Calicut; where having waited for three days, he put to sea almost out of sight of land; when a boat came off to inform him, that his people were in the zamorin's palace, and would be with him next day. De Gama firmly let them know, that they must instantly bring his men, or letters from them; and that, if they returned without either the one or the other, he would sink them; and, if they did not return at all, he would cut off the heads of those he had seized. As soon as the boat was departed with this message, he steered towards the shore, and anchored near Calicut.

Next day seven boats came up to the flag ship, in one of which were Diaz and the secretary, whom the natives delivered up, and then retired to some distance for the admiral's answer. They likewise brought a letter for the king of Portugal, written on a palm-tree leaf, and signed by the zamorin. It was couched in the subsequent laconic terms: "Vasco de Gama, a "gentleman of thy house, came to my country; of "whose coming I am glad. In my country there is "plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and precious "stones. The things which I am desirous of receiv"ing from thy country, are gold, silver, scarlet, and "coral."

The admiral made no other reply, but that he had sent back the naires, and would detain the rest till his merchandise on shore was restored. The next day Bontaibo came on board, and told the admiral, that the cutival, by the king's order, had seized his effects, on pretence that he was a Christian, and had been sent over-land as a spy by the king of Portugal. He added, that he was aware all this was done at the instigation of the Arabs; and not doubting but, as they

had taken his goods, they would next injure his person, he had fled for protection. De Gama immediately ordered him to be well accommodated on board; and promised that, on his arrival at Portugal, he should meet with ample recompense for his losses. Afterwards three almadias arrived with scarfs laid over the benches, and pretended that they had brought all the goods, and therefore demanded that the prisoners should be liberated. The admiral, perceiving that this was no more than an artifice, told them he should carry the Malabars to Portugal as a confirmation of his discovery; and would soon return again to Calicut, when the zamorin would be satisfied whether the Christians were pirates or not, as the Arabs had given out.

It may be proper to remark, that Calicut, the first scene of Portuguese adventure in the East, stands in the middle of the coast of Malabar, on an open shore, where there is no shelter for European vessels; but those of the country being formed of planks, bound together with ropes, and flat-bottomed, are easily drawn on shore. Though the city at that time was large, the houses were constructed of hurdles, except the imperial palaces and temples, which were built of stone and lime; for, by the existing laws, no other structures were allowed of those materials. This city was then the grand emporium of India for all kinds of spices, drugs, precious stones, calicoes, gold, silver, and other rich commodities. The people were generally Pagans, and paid an implicit obedience to their bramins, or priests, as well in secular as in sacred affairs.

The admiral being becalmed, soon after he set sail, at about a league's distance from Calicut, the zamorin sent sixty tonies filled with soldiers to seize the ships. Providentially a fresh gale springing up, the fleet escaped; but was pursued by the Malabars for an hour and upwards. It was indeed fortunate for the Portuguese that they arrived here in the beginning of winter, when the emperor's fleet, which was very nume-

rous, was laid up. Had it been equipped, they must have fallen an easy prey.

Notwithstanding this attempt, the admiral dismissed one of the captives, at the first port he touched at, with a letter to his sovereign, in which he recapitulated the snares which had been laid for him by the Arabians, apologized for his carrying away the natives, and professed the utmost regard for his majesty. He promised to exert himself to establish such a league between him and the king of Portugal, as would redound to their mutual interest; and concluded with assuring him, that the prisoners he had taken with him should be well treated, and sent back with the next Portuguese fleet to their native land.

Steering along the coast, De Gama fell in with several small islands, from one of which pinnaces came off with fish and other provisions. The Portuguese received these people kindly, and, having set up a cross on the shore, named the place Santa Maria. About a week after, they cast anchor near six small islands, where he was supplied with fowls, gourds, and milk. At the same time the natives informed him, that the country abounded with cinnamon; which was confirmed by the report of some Portuguese sent on shore for the purpose, who reported that they saw entire woods of cinnamon.

From hence he reached the Anchediva islands, five in number, where the admiral resolved to careen his ships. While thus employed, two brigantines appeared, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, and five more were discovered near the shore. The Malabars said they were pirates, who, under the colour of friendship, plundered all the vessels that fell in their way. Being thus apprised of his danger, the admiral gave orders to fire on them as soon as they came within reach of his guns. This unexpected reception made them retreat with all possible expedition.

Among the immense multitudes that crowded to see the ships, came a person apparently about forty years

of age, and of a different country. Immediately as he landed, he ran up to the admiral, and then to the other captains, embracing them with the utmost familiarity; and, having made his compliments in the Italian language, told him he was a Christian, and a native of Italy; that having been taken by pirates in his youth, while accompanying his parents in a voyage to Greece, he had run through a variety of misfortunes, and had hitherto been deprived of all hopes of visiting his native land. He informed the admiral, that he had been forced to enter into the service of the Mahometan prince, named Sabay, the sovereign of an island at twelve leagues distance, named Goa; that he had been obliged to comply with the external forms of the religion of Mahomet: but that he was still a Christian in his heart. He added, that he was prime minister and confidant of his sovereign; and hearing that there were certain strange ships at Calicut, whose crews were clothed from head to foot, and spoke a language unknown in the Indies, he judged them to be Christians, and entreated Sabay to permit him to visit them; which he had not only granted, but ordered him to acquaint them, that whatever his kingdom produced was at their service. He concluded with desiring, that they would favour him with a cheese to send to a companion of his on shore, as a pledge of the friendly reception he had met with.

Though this gave the admiral just grounds for suspicion, he nevertheless ordered him a cheese and two loaves; which the stranger accordingly sent on shore, and continued his conversation with De Gama, with an inquisitive minuteness which still rendered him the more suspected. The admiral's brother, taking an opportunity, inquired of some of the natives who this singular person was; and received for answer, that he was a pirate, and had visited other ships that had been on the coast. De Gama, being apprised of this, ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, in order to obtain a confession of his situation and inten-

tions. This punishment having no effect, he inhumanly caused him to be hoisted up by a pulley, in a most indecent and excruciating form. After he had been lifted up in this manner the fourth time, he confessed, that he was a Polish Jew; and that Sabay, meditating an attack on the Portuguese ships, had sent him to ascertain their strength and mode of fighting. This having some verisimilitude, the admiral then sent him under the hatches, and had him cured of the injury he had received; telling him, for his consolation, that he did not design to make a slave of him, but would carry him to Portugal, to furnish the king with what information had fallen under his notice in the country. Being afterwards used with kindness, he was baptized under the name of Jasper de Gama, and rendered essential services to the Portuguese.

It was on the 5th of October that De Gama left this coast, and directed his course for Melinda. In this long passage he experienced an alternation of storms, calms, and contrary winds; and his men became so tainted with the scurvy, that pest of mariners on distant voyages, that not more than sixteen men in each ship were fit for service. To prevent their overshooting Melinda, they dropped anchor every night. When they had arrived within ten leagues of that city, eight large boats, filled with soldiers, appeared steering towards the ships; but, on receiving the first fire, they tacked about and fled.

The admiral experienced the same friendly reception at Melinda as he had done in his passage out. Having staid five days to take in refreshments, and received on board an ambassador from the king to his Portuguese majesty, he burned one of his ships, the St. Raphael, and distributed the men among the other two. Indeed, with such a reduced number of hands, it would have been impossible to navigate them all.

De Gama reached Zanzibar, a pretty large island in 6 deg. south latitude, on the 27th of February. The prince, though a Mahometan, courteously entertained

the Portuguese, and furnished them with what supplies his territories produced. Nothing happened worthy of remark till the 26th of April, when they again doubled the Cape of Good Hope, that grand barrier which had so long been regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of navigation. They now directed their course to the island of St. Jago; but the two ships being separated by a violent storm, the commander of the Berrio, anxious to carry the earliest intelligence of the discoveries to the king, sailed directly for Lisbon, and on the 10th of July put into Cuscais. The admiral, having touched at St. Jago, left his ship to be refitted, and, sailing from thence in a hired caraval, arrived safe at Belem in September, 1499, after a long voyage of two years and two months, with the loss of more than half his men.

On his landing, every mark of honour was paid him, every demonstration of joy attended his discoveries. The king sent several gentlemen to conduct him to court; and immense crowds through which he passed joined in the tribute of congratulation. He was honoured with the title of Don; he was permitted to quarter the royal arms, and had an annual pension of three thousand ducats assigned him. The other captains received likewise honours and rewards; and the king, so liberal to others, made a most extravagant appropriation to himself. In addition to his former description, he assumed the lofty title of Lord of the Conquest and Navigation of Ethiopia Arabia, Persia, and the Indies. Public thanksgivings were offered up throughout Portugal for the success of this discovery; and feasts and entertainments were generally celebrated. Even those who had long opposed the design as impracticable, now grew ashamed of their opposition, and became zealous in the cause they had once contemned.

If we compare the discoveries of Columbus and De Gama, the palm of navigation must be allowed to the former. Columbus discovered a new world by a path

never attempted, and which his own original mind alone suggested: De Gama only prosecuted and completed the discoveries of others; he knew there was a country to which he was bound, though the road had never been traced; and he met with few novelties which he might not reasonably expect to find.—To Columbus, every thing was new. If we compare their respective discoveries in their importance and consequences, the general decision of the judgment will probably be in favour of that of Columbus. The East is only the hot-bed of luxury, the enervating soil where man dwindles into the slave, or arrogates to himself the power of a tyrant. America presents a field in its great variety of climate, where the human powers may one day perhaps expand beyond their present limits; and the ingenuity of man, sharpened by the necessity of labour and industry, may explore new paths of science, and open new avenues to happiness and enjoyment. From this favourable representation, however, we must for ever exclude the greatest part of the American Islands, or, as they are called, the West Indies. Similar causes will always produce similar effects. The same climate and some of the same productions distinguish both the East and West Indies; but if we estimate the happiness and the comforts of man, for which alone countries were made, we shall here find the East preferable to the West.

VOYAGE OF

PEDRO ALVAREZ DE CABRAL

TO THE

EAST INDIES.

OF the gentleman who conducted this expedition, little seems to be known. It cannot, however, be doubted, but he must have been a man of rank, and highly distinguished in his profession. To him, as we shall see in the sequel, Portugal is indebted for the discovery of Brasil, so that De Cabral is entitled to rank, at least, with Americus Vesputius or Cabot.

On the arrival of De Gama from his voyage, which laid open the Indies, expectation was highly raised, and it was immediately resolved to prosecute the advantages just disclosed to view, with assiduity and perseverance. For this purpose, thirteen vessels of different sizes were fitted out, and the command was given to Pedro Alvarez de Cabral. His force consisted of one thousand two hundred men; exclusive of eight Franciscan friars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain major. This part of the complement may excite a smile; for, though these religious might be able to preach, how could they make themselves understood? Unless they had possessed the gift of tongues, their labours in this stage of the intercourse between Europe and the East must have been either nugatory or ridiculous. However, like the disciples of Mahomet,

they had orders to convert by argument or by the sword.

Cabral, at his departure, received from the king the flag of the cross, and was instructed, that, in case the zamorin of Calicut voluntarily consented to the settling of a factory, he was privately to be influenced against suffering the Arabians to participate in the trade; and in that condition it was to be represented, that Portugal, by its imports, would supply all his demands on the most moderate terms; and, by its exports, take off the manufactures of his country to advantage. This was the grand outline of instruction for the conduct of the commodore.

On the 9th of March, 1500, the fleet set sail; and having passed the island of St. Jago, they met with a violent storm which dispersed the ships, and obliged one of them to put back to Lisbon. Having collected his squadron again, with the above exception, he proceeded on his voyage, and steered to the south-west, to keep clear of the coast of Guinea. Sailing in this course, on the 24th of April one of the sailors discovered land, to the inexpressible joy and surprise of the admiral. The pilots could not imagine that it was a continent, but took it for a large island. They, however, cruised along the coast for a whole day, and then ventured on shore, where they found an infinite number of people entirely naked; and neither resembling the negroes nor the East Indians. The party that had landed made a report, that there was safe anchorage in the vicinity; on which the fleet approached to the land.

The natives taking alarm at this unusual appearance retired to the hills, and seemed to watch the motions of the Portuguese. Just as they were going to launch their boats, in order to attempt some intercourse with them, a sudden storm drove the ships from their anchors, and carried them down the coast to a harbour which they called Puerto Seguro, or Safe Harbour. Here two Indians were secured, and, being clothed by

De Cabral's order, were presented with small mirrors, brass rings and bells, and sent on shore. On this, a great concourse of the inhabitants came down to the shore singing, dancing, sounding horns, and leaping in all the exultation of joy.

These favourable appearances prompted the admiral to land; and, it being Easter-day, an altar was erected under a tree, where the Portuguese sang mass. The Indians peaceably approached them, knelt with the Portuguese, imitated all their gestures, and listened with attention to a sermon which was delivered on the occasion.

This discovery seemed of so great importance, that the admiral immediately dispatched a ship to Portugal with advice. This intelligence was highly acceptable to the mother country; and, though Brasil has seen various revolutions and changes since its first discovery, it has long remained the most valuable appendage of his Faithful Majesty. A free intercourse was instantly established between the natives and the Portuguese in De Cabral's squadron; they visited each other, and interchanged civilities without the reserve of suspicion.

The country produced maize and cotton, and appeared abundantly fertile. A stone cross was erected to denote possession; whence this colony was at first called Santa Cruz, but its name was afterwards changed to Brasil from the trees so called in which it abounds. The fertility and beauty of the soil are not superior to the salubrity of the climate, for here the natives live to a very extended age. Several large rivers and an infinite number of delightful streams water this country. The plains are spacious, and the whole face of nature beautifully diversified.

At this period the natives were strangers to every kind of learning, and restrained by no laws but those of nature. They had no superior, except when they were engaged in war. On such occasions, the man most distinguished for bravery was elevated to the rank of general. Few of them wore any dress, except on

the head, which was adorned with plumes of feathers. Some also wore feather ornaments from the waist to the knee. The women seemed to pride themselves in combing and dressing their hair, while the men were shaved from the forehead to the crown. Such as affected finery suspended stones of various colours, and sometimes shells, from their ears, nostrils, and lips. They were very dexterous archers, and their arrows, being pointed with fish bones, were capable of doing much execution. Hunting was their principal support; as for agriculture, it was scarcely attended to. They had boats, made of the bark of trees. large enough to contain thirty men; and while one party on board paddled these vessels along, another beat the water to disturb the fishes, which, rising to the surface, were caught in large calibashes.

Their dwellings were small wooden huts, thatched with reeds, and surrounded with palisadoes. Several families, connected by the ties of friendship, lived within the same inclosure; and between them the most affectionate regard, in general, subsisted. Divorces were allowed for the most trifling offence, and if the wives proved unfaithful, they might either be killed or sold for slaves.

Among a people where manufactures and commerce were scarcely known, much activity of body or of mind could not be expected. They, however, indulged in feasting, singing, and dancing. In their dances they displayed little agility. Having formed a ring, instead of varied motions, they remained on the same spot, beating the ground with their feet, and keeping measure with their songs, which were composed to celebrate their own exploits. While one set was thus employed, another kept plying them with liquor till they could stand no longer; and then succeeded in their turn.

To revenge an injury, or an insult, was the only pretext for war. These people never thought of enlarging their territories, but only of defending them.

Their prisoners were treated with that want of generous feeling which distinguishes uncivilized nations; and, from various testimonies, there is too much reason to believe, that they neither thought it unlawful or improper to kill and eat them. Yet, we must not credit all that is said on this subject: the aboriginal Brasilians, though uncultivated, were naturally mild; and we should hope, in general, abhorrent of such detestable crimes.

The only enemy that molested the repose of the Brasilians was a wild and savage race inhabiting the mountains. Among this people, murder was the only punishable crime, and life for life the usual expiation. But if the murderer escaped, his nearest relations were delivered up as slaves to the heirs of the deceased; when all resentment ceased.

Among the Brasilians, superstition had long prevailed and taken deep root. Omens were observed, and sorcery practised by a particular order of men, who were held in high veneration, and consulted on all emergencies. These persons generally carried an arrow, at the extremity of which hung a calibash, within which they kindled the leaves of a certain plant, and, inhaling the smoke by their nostrils, soon became intoxicated. They then rolled their eyes and threw their bodies into a variety of contortions; uttering an unconnected jargon of sense and nonsense, which the deluded spectators considered as the effect of divine inspiration. These impostors were constantly attended by the credulous multitude with every mark of respect and joy; and neither married nor single females were thought to be dishonoured by their embraces.

Such are the accounts transmitted to us of the inhabitants of Brasil, when it was first known to Europeans. De Cabral left here two convicts, whose sentence had been changed to transportation, and of whom he had several on board. These were kindly used by the Indians; and one of them acquiring the

language was long useful to his country in the capacity of interpreter.

Setting sail from the coast of Brasil, the fleet steered for the Cape of Good Hope, and met the usual concomitants of that coast, storms and tempests. For the first time they saw a water-spout, on the 28th of May, and, being unacquainted with this phænomenon, considered it as an indication of fair weather; but suddenly such a terrible hurricane arose, that four of the ships were dashed against each other, and, with every person on board, sunk, without the possibility of granting them relief. Among those who found a watery grave was the celebrated Bartholomew Diaz, who had first doubled the Cape, and paved the way to the Indies. The remainder of the fleet was half filled with water; and for the space of two days they had no other prospect than of following the fate of their unfortunate companions. On the third day the wind seemed to abate; but it was only during the interval of its veering to another point, from whence it began to blow with increased violence, and the waves to swell to the height of mountains. This dreadful tempest lasted twenty days, in all its horrors, while every moment threatened death; but at length moderating, they found that they had passed the Cape of Good Hope. During this storm the ships had been separated; but afterwards all joined company save one, which, after incredible disasters, at last reached Portugal with only six men alive.

The admiral fell in with the coast of Africa in 27 deg. south latitude, and had a prospect of a country pleasant and full of flocks. But the natives declining to have any commerce with him, he cruized along the coast. Coming in sight of some islands near the continent, he observed two ships at anchor, which, slipping their cables, endeavoured to escape, but were captured by the Portuguese in spite of all their efforts. De Cabral, on taking possession of them, be-

ing informed that they belonged to a prince allied to the king of Melinda, and that they were proceeding from the gold mines of Sofala, dismissed them untouched, out of compliment to a sovereign who had shown himself so partial to the Portuguese.

The admiral touched at Mosambique, and, providing himself with a pilot, continued his course to Quiloa. Being arrived there, he dispatched a messenger to Ibrahim, the king, informing him that he had letters for him from his Portuguese majesty, in terms of friendship and alliance; and that, as his royal master had expressly forbid him to go on shore, he hoped his majesty would honour him with an interview on the water. Ibrahim received the communication with sensible pleasure, and instantly forwarded some presents to the commander, with a promise of meeting him next day. Accordingly, he came in a richly ornamented vessel, attended by a large retinue splendidly dressed, and armed with swords and daggers, the hilts of which sparkled with diamonds, while the whole harbour resounded with the music of flutes and trumpets.

De Cabral was attentive to receive his majesty with suitable honours; he saluted him with the great guns; and ordering all his officers, dressed in their richest uniforms, to attend him in their respective boats, he proceeded in his own barge to the vessel in which the king was seated. Mutual compliments passed: he delivered his royal master's letters written in Arabic, and communicated the particulars of his embassy, which the king heard with much satisfaction; and replied, that he should henceforth consider Emanuel as his brother, and promote his interest with zeal. It was also agreed, that the next day a deputy should be sent on shore to ratify the treaty, and this interview ended with the most promising appearances of a cordial and advantageous alliance between the contracting nations. But these prospects were suddenly blasted by the art-

ful insinuations of the Arabian merchants, who represented the Portuguese as a set of sanguinary pirates, who, under the mask of friendship, plotted to deprive the king of his possessions, and ravage his country. These insinuations were so powerfully addressed to the conviction of the African prince, that he laid aside all thoughts of confirming the proposed alliance, and set about putting his city in a posture of defence. This unpleasant news being communicated to De Cabral by the king of Melinda's brother, who was at that time at Quiloa, he resolved to prosecute his voyage, and to confute his enemies by his conduct.

The dominions of Ibrahim were of great extent. They reached nearly four hundred leagues along the coast, from Cape Corientes almost to Mombassa. These territories were populous and full of towns, and a number of islands on the coast were tributary. The king and his subjects were Mahometans. Quiloa was a place of great trade, particularly in the gold of Sofala, on which account there was a great resort of merchants from Arabia Felix and other regions. The ships here, as was customary on this coast, were built without nails, and wild frankincense was employed instead of pitch.

From Quiloa the admiral steered for Melinda. As soon as he dropped anchor, he saluted the town with all his ordnance, and set on shore the ambassador, who had visited the court of Portugal, attended by some Portuguese, who carried rich presents and a letter from king Emanuel. The presents were so satisfactory to his majesty, that next day he made his appearance on a horse richly caparisoned with furniture received from Portugal; and in this style proceeded to the seaside, where the admiral met him with his officers in their boats; and the most friendly interview took place. But notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the king, the admiral declined making any long stay. He, however, left two exiles, who were ordered, if possible, to

penetrate to Ethiopia, where fame had reported there was a Christian prince, and to inform themselves of the manners and customs of his people.

On the 7th of August De Cabral set sail from Melinda with a fair wind, and touched at the Anchediva Islands; where waiting a few days, in vain, for the ships of Mecca, he renewed his voyage, and on the 13th of September cast anchor near Calicut. A number of boats with provisions soon visited him; and afterwards some of the principal naires, with a message from the zamorin, expressive of the pleasure he felt at his arrival, and with proffers of the sincerest friendship. On this the admiral warped his ships nearer the city, and sent off the four Malabars, whom De Gama had carried away, with a messenger to demand a safe-conduct. The natives seeing their countrymen return in good health and well dressed after the Portuguese fashion, began to entertain favourable sentiments of their visitors. The emperor too showed great signs of satisfaction, though he would not immediately admit them to his presence. He, however, gave free permission for every person to come on shore. The admiral on this sent Alonzo Hertido, with an interpreter, to inform the zamorin, that he was commissioned to settle a trade and friendship with him, the sole view of his coming; and therefore requested hostages, that he might personally wait on his majesty. The cutival and one of the principal naires were named by De Cabral as the persons he should wish to be sent on board.

To this the emperor objected, on account of their age and infirmities, and nominated others; while the Arabs strenuously exerted themselves to prevent his trusting any: but after three days' deliberation, the zamorin, elated with the prospect of commercial advantages, dispatched the hostages. The admiral, having delega ed his command to Sancho de Toar during his absence, and left directions to entertain the hostages

with respect, but not to deliver them up on any pretence, resolved to wait on his majesty on shore.

This being settled, several of the principal naires, with a large retinue and a band of music, were sent to conduct the admiral on shore; who being informed that the emperor waited for him in a pavilion near the shore, set out with all possible state, accompanied by his officers and the boats of the fleet. The hostages expressed a reluctance to enter the ships till they saw the admiral landed, being apprehensive of some treachery. During this dispute, De Cabral stepped on shore, where many principal naires waited for him; and was immediately seated in a chair, and, with all his train, carried to the serama, a kind of lodge covered with tapestry, at the further end of which sat the zamorin, cross-legged, on a cushion, in an alcove, from the top of which hung a cloth of state of crimson velvet.

Nothing could be more splendid, or more rich, than the dress of the zamorin. His head was covered with a cap of gold cloth; and from his ears depended brilliants composed of diamonds, sapphires, and pearls. Round his waist he wore a piece of white calico embroidered with gold: the rest of his body was naked. His arms, from the elbow to the wrist, were loaded with bracelets of the most costly stones; his fingers and toes were covered with rings, and on his great toe was a ruby of the brightest lustre. But all this was surpassed by the richness of his girdle, which was wholly covered with precious stones set in gold, and cast a dazzling lustre. Near the emperor stood a chair of state; and his litter was entirely composed of gold and silver sprinkled with jewels. There were also three golden trumpets and seventeen of silver, the mouths of which were set with gems; and silver lamps and censers smoked with the sweetest perfumes. At some little distance from the zamorin stood his two brothers, and a little further off a train of nobles.

The admiral, on his admission, intended to have kissed the zamorin's hand; but being informed that that was not the etiquette, he desisted; and was seated in a chair next his majesty, the highest honour that could be shown him. He then delivered his letters of credence, written in Arabic; which being read, he next communicated his message, importing, that the king of Portugal was anxious to cultivate a friendship with the zamorin, and to be permitted to settle a factory at Calicut, which should be constantly supplied with European commodities; and requested that, either by way of exchange or for money, he might be allowed to lade his ships with spices. The terms of this embassy appeared highly flattering to the zamorin; and he informed the admiral, that his master should be welcome to whatever his city supplied.

While the conference was going on, the presents were introduced. They consisted of a wrought silver bason gilt, a fountain of the same, a silver cup with a gilt cover, two wedges of gold, four cushions, two cloths of gold, and two of crimson velvet, a cloth of state, of striped velvet, laced with gold, a very fine carpet, and two rich pieces of arras.

After the audience, the zamorin told the admiral, that he might either retire to the ships or lodgings; that he must send for the hostages, who, being unaccustomed to the sea, he was certain would neither eat nor drink on board; but adding, that if he came next day to conclude the negotiation, they should be again committed as pledges for his security.

This auspicious beginning was in danger of being blasted by some unreasonable jealousy on both sides. The admiral having reached the seaside, a servant belonging to one of the hostages went before in a pinnace, by order of some of the zamorin's officers of state, to acquaint them that the admiral was coming on board. This they no sooner heard, than they leaped into the sea, in order to get off in the pinnace; but some of them were retaken. The rest, however, got

off, and among them the cutival. In the interim the admiral coming on board, ordered those who had been retaken to be put under the hatches, and sent to the emperor to complain of the conduct of the rest; promising to deliver up those he had detained, as soon as his men on shore and baggage were restored.

This shows that neither party yet thought it advisable to trust the other. Next day, however, the zamorin with one thousand two hundred men came down to the water-side, and sent on board the admiral's men and baggage, and no less than thirty pinnaces attended to fetch back the hostages. While they were hesitating, on both sides, about the delivery, the eldest of the pledges and another person jumped overboard. One of them was again recovered, and was ordered to be closely watched; but no requisition being made of him in three days, and the admiral observing that he could not be brought to eat, at last dismissed him; on which, two Portuguese, still on shore, were sent back.

Some days after this elapsed without any intelligence from the emperor; on which the admiral resolved to send a messenger, to learn if he was disposed to finish the treaty begun; in which case he proposed to send his chief factor on shore, provided hostages were delivered as before. Fear and suspicion had, however, so strongly possessed all on board, that Francisco Correa was the only person who would engage to deliver the message. On his landing, he was handsomely received, and the zamorin told him, that it would give him pleasure to have the trade settled, and made no difficulty in trusting the Portuguese with hostages. He nominated, as his pledges, the two nephews of a rich Guzerat merchant, who were immediately sent on board; and an elegant house was provided for Ayres Correa, the factor, in which he might lodge his merchandise. The grandfather of the hostages was further appointed to instruct the factor in the customs and usages of the

commerce of the country. However, the Guzerat merchant having a predilection for the Arabian traders, sold the Portuguese commodities at what price was offered, and advised Correa to give as much for the merchandise of India as was asked. Whenever the factor had an audience of the zamorin, some of the Arabian merchants were present to counteract his measures; and they even prevailed on the admiral of Calicut to proceed to some steps indicating hostilities.

De Cabral, acquainted with these movements, and apprehensive that he might be attacked by the imperial fleet if he remained in the harbour, weighed anchor and stood out to sea, that he might deliberate in security on what was to be done. The zamorin, on this, sent for Correa, and, being apprised of the reasons that induced De Cabral to leave the harbour, desired he would request his return, and gave prompt orders for frustrating the machinations of the Arabians. He also removed the Guzerat merchant from his attendance on Correa, and substituted another person, named Cosebequin, who, though a Turk, was partial to the Portuguese. And to prevent the factor from being interrupted by the Arabian merchants, and to give him an equal opportunity of trading to advantage, he bestowed on him the perpetuity of a house near the sea-side. This deed of gift was confirmed by signing and sealing an instrument, which was afterwards wrapped up in cloth of gold, for the admiral to carry to Portugal, in confirmation of his amicable intentions. The emperor also ordered, that a flag, with the arms of Portugal, should be fixed on the top of this edifice. After this unequivocal mark of the zamorin's pleasure, a commercial intercourse began to commence between the natives and the Portuguese, and their former jealousies seemed to die away.

While these transactions were going on, De Cabral was made acquainted, that a large Ceylonese ship, with several elephants on board, was bound to Cambaya, and that, the commander having refused to accommo-

date the zamorin with one of those animals, it would be a grateful piece of service if the Portuguese would capture the vessel. This seems neither very honourable nor politic; but the admiral, to oblige the zamorin, gave him to understand that he would attack the ship, though he represented the attempt as dangerous. Sensible, however, of his own superiority, he allotted only one ship for this enterprise, and gave the command to Pedro Attaida. Scarce were the Portuguese prepared for the engagement, when the ship appeared, while the zamorin waited the event with earnest impatience. Attaida instantly bore down upon her, till his guns could bear with effect; and, opening upon the Ceylonese, killed a number of the men before they were near enough to do him any damage, and compelled them to endeavour to save themselves by flight. Night coming on, they escaped into the harbour of Cananore; but finding they had not eluded the pursuit of the Portuguese, they again put to sea, and the engagement being renewed, they were forced into the harbour of Calicut, and secured. This engagement gave the zamorin a very exalted idea of the bravery of the Portuguese, who with one small ship attacked another of six times the magnitude and number of men; and he lavishly published his sentiments on the occasion.

That malice, which had always been rankling in the breast of the Arabians against the Portuguese, was now exacerbated by envy. They waited on the emperor in a body, and, with affected zeal, represented the concern they felt at seeing his majesty's partiality for the strangers, while he evinced little regard for those whose long-tried fidelity and support had entitled them to his entire confidence. They insinuated, that the Portuguese must infallibly be pirates; as it was impossible the fair profits of trade could enable them to take such distant voyages. They boldly affirmed, that it was the design of the new comers to take possession of the city and plunder the country; that their factory

would soon be converted to a fort; and, in fine, if his majesty was determined to give such a distinguished preference to the Portuguese, it was their own intention to remove to some other town on the coast of Malabar, and carry their commerce with them.

The suggestions of these merchants, though originating from spite, have partly been verified by succeeding events. The factory has too often been converted into a fort; and the simple natives have fallen victims to the avarice or ambition of ungrateful Europeans, whom they were eager to oblige. On recording the establishment of the first factory in India, we feel the full force of this reflection. How much misery has the thirst for monopoly, or the love of conquest, spread over some of the most fertile countries of the earth!

The zamorin, to pacify the importunity of the Arabians, assured them of his invariable friendship, and that he would not desert their interests. He observed, that he was desirous of trying the courage of the Portuguese in the late conflict, and that it was for his own advantage, and that of his country, to encourage their commercial intercourse. The merchants were far from being satisfied with those reasons, and were more irritated against the Portuguese than ever. They publicly opposed them, as far as they dared, in the purchase of spices; and though the emperor himself had engaged that the fleet should be laden in twenty days, three months elapsed before two ships had laid in their full complement.

The admiral naturally suspected that this delay could not arise but from the consent or connivance of the zamorin, and therefore sent to complain that, contrary to the professions which had been made, the Arabian ships were supplied with great facility and expedition, while the Portuguese had constant impediments thrown in their way. This remonstrance roused the emperor to assert his authority; he expressed his astonishment, that the Arabs should dare to disobey his

commands, by a clandestine purchase of spices, and ordered that the Portuguese should have their lading completed out of the stores accumulated by them, paying, however, a fair price for what was thus wrested out of the hands of the Eastern merchants.

This act of sovereign power gave the Arabians the opportunity which they long wished for, of coming to an open rupture with the Portuguese. Immediately one of the principal persons among them began publicly to take in his lading, and, the better to succeed in his scheme, formed a cabal with some of his countrymen, and such of the natives as were most friendly to the new interest, who persuaded the factor, that it was his duty, in conformity to the imperial mandate, to seize these spices. Correa, caught by this specious advice, recommended to the admiral to capture the ship. At first he declined it, apprehensive of the consequences: but, on reiterated applications, and the factor engaging to answer for any danger that might arise, De Cabral sent to inform the captain that he must not depart without his permission. But the Arabians, as was concerted among them, disregarding this threat, the admiral commanded his officers to arm the boats, and tow the vessel, which was under sail, back again into the harbour. The owner, a person of great wealth and influence, highly enraged at this proceeding, though he had planned it, assembled his friends and adherents, and, repairing to the palace, grievously complained that the Portuguese, after having amassed more spices and drugs than they had, were yet discontented, and, like robbers and pirates, wished to seize the whole. They therefore demanded permission to redress themselves, and to execute revenge for the injury. The resolution of the zamorin, which had constantly been fluctuating, now gave way to these representations; and he intimated that they might satisfy themselves.

This fatal compliance with their wishes being obtained, they hastened back to assault the factory. The

walls of this building were ten feet high, and, at this time, seventy men, including the friars, were within its bounds; but, exclusive of their swords, they had only a few cross-bows. A small party of Arabs at first advancing, the Portuguese hoped to be able to defend their gates. But the numbers of the assailants rapidly increasing, and the Portuguese having already lost five men, with difficulty shut their gates, and betook themselves to the walls with their cross-bows. Correa, perceiving that the enemy amounted to four hundred men, and that they were countenanced by several naires, hoisted a flag of distress.

The admiral being indisposed, immediately sent Sancho de Toar, with all the boats and a strong detachment to the relief of the factory; but this officer thought it dangerous to land in the face of such an enemy, or even to approach too near the shore. Meanwhile many of the besieged being wounded with an incessant shower of arrows and spears, and perceiving the Arabs preparing their battering engines, they resolved to abandon the factory by a door opening to the water-side; but the enemy pressed them so closely, that only twenty escaped. The greatest part of the wounded died; and fifty were either killed or taken prisoners on the spot. Among the former was Ayres Correa. The son of that gentleman, a boy about eleven years of age, who afterwards was renowned for his bravery and resolution, was saved by the persevering efforts of a sailor, who swam with him on board. The merchandise lost on this occasion amounted to four thousand ducats.

The admiral was at once impressed with grief and fired with resentment; and, finding no apology was sent by the zamorin, resolved on a severe revenge. He therefore gave orders for attacking ten large Arabian vessels in the harbour; and after an obstinate conflict, and the destruction of many of the attacked, the ships were captured, and the surviving Arabs compelled to serve as sailors. Three elephants were found in the

prizes, which were killed and salted for provisions, which began to grow scarce. The spices and other goods were then taken out, and the ships burned in the sight of their owners and partisans. While this was transacting, the inhabitants ran up and down the city of Calicut, in the greatest consternation and dismay, being terrified at the sight of the flames, and the unexpected issue of the contest.

Here revenge ought to have stopped, and surely justice was satisfied; but the admiral meditated more. He ordered his ships to spread along the shore, and advance with their boats before them as near it as possible. The ordnance then began to play on the town with great fury and with much execution, both among the houses and the citizens, who crowding together, to avoid or repel the danger, fell thick at every shot. Several of the temples were demolished; the palace of the zamorin was much injured; and the sovereign himself, who fled in the general terror, narrowly escaped a bullet from one of the boats, which killed a naire close behind him.

Towards evening the cannonading ceased; and after an ineffectual attempt to secure some ships that were making for the port, the admiral pursued his voyage to Cochin, in order to settle a factory there, and in his passage took two Arabian ships.

Such was the serious commencement of hostilities between the Europeans and the Indians; and the effusion of blood has at intervals continued for ages. The natives of the East have sometimes had their revenge, by seeing their country and its produce set the aggressors against one another; but surely trade might have been carried on without violence, or an encroachment on the sacred rights of the aboriginal inhabitants.

De Cabral arrived before the city of Cochin on the 20th of December. This place is situated on a river about 19 leagues south of Calicut, and has a safe capacious port: the land within is low, and broken into many islands. The houses here were built after the

same fashion as at Calicut, and were inhabited by Pagans and Arabs. The territory being small and barren, provisions were by no means plentiful; but there was an abundance of pepper. The king, whose name was Trimumpara, was tributary to the emperor of Calicut, and consequently was not rich; but the conduct of the Portuguese to a superior, by whom he was oppressed, gave him a strong partiality in their favour.

The admiral having anchored, dispatched an Indian convert, named Michael Joghi, to the king, to announce his arrival, and to explain what had happened at Calicut. He further desired leave to trade for spices and other commodities, either in exchange for merchandise or money.

The messenger was one of the sect of the Bramins, who affect the utmost contempt for sensual enjoyments, and attempt to please the Deity by austerities more than human. This person was now converted to Christianity, and behaved with great integrity. He returned with a very polite and civil answer from his majesty, who expressed his joy at the arrival of the Portuguese; and immediately dispatched two of his principal naires as hostages, on condition that they might be changed every day, because, by the customs of the country, should they once eat on ship-board, they can never more appear in the presence of royalty.

The admiral, pleased with this auspicious beginning, appointed Gonzalo Gil Barbisa his factor, and gave him a clerk, an interpreter, and four exiles as servants.

Some of the principal officers of state immediately conducted the factor to court; but here was none of the magnificence and grandeur of Calicut. The prince himself was indifferently clad; the walls of his palace were without hangings, and were furnished with seats railed in, where the king sat without any external pomp. As soon as the factor was introduced, he presented a silver washing-bowl full of saffron, a silver ewer with rose water, and some branches of coral. The

king accepted the present with apparent pleasure, thanked the admiral in whose name it had been offered, and, having conversed some time with the factor, commanded that he and his retinue should be well accommodated.

The admiral was averse to trusting more men on shore, apprehensive of the misfortunes which attended his factory at Calicut; but the event showed, that mistrust was here unnecessary. The kind usage the Portuguese experienced, the dispatch with which the ships were laden, and the frank alertness with which the natives rendered them assistance, showed that the professions of the prince were the sentiments of his heart.

The lading being completed, while the admiral was on shore he received a visit from two Indian Christians, brothers, who expressed their wish to sail to Portugal, in order to visit Rome and Jerusalem. These Christians were denominated from St. Thomas, who, having preached the gospel in the East, suffered martyrdom near Madras. Cabral interrogated them whether they belonged to the Latin or Greek church, and if the country from whence they came was wholly peopled with Christians? One of them replied, that the inhabitants were a mixture of Christians, Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, from Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Arabia; that the Christians were subject to a tribute, and had a quarter of the city to themselves, in which they were indulged with a church; but it had neither crosses, images, nor bells. He further said, that they had their own pope, under whom were twelve cardinals, and two patriarchs, with many archbishops and bishops, who resided in Armenia; to which place all the clergy resorted for orders, and to obtain institution to their cures or dignities, the jurisdiction of the pope extending over India and Catay. That the two patriarchs resided in those provinces, and the bishops were dispersed in the different cities throughout this immense extent. He added that their supreme head

was called Catholicos, and that their tonsure was made in the form of a cross.

The admiral having heard this detail, readily granted their request of conveying them to Portugal. Soon after this, messengers arrived from the kings of Cananore and Coulan, inviting the Portuguese to come and trade in their ports, where spices should be furnished on the most advantageous terms. The admiral returned his acknowledgments, but declined accepting their obliging invitations, having already completed his cargo; but promised to visit them on his return to the Indies.

While the Portuguese were thus amicably treated at Cochin, the zamorin had been active in preparing to revenge the destruction of his capital. A fleet of twenty-five large ships, besides a number of smaller ones, appeared on the coast; when the king of Cochin being informed of the design of this armament, immediately gave the requisite information to the admiral, and offered him all the assistance in his power. He stated that there were fifteen thousand men on board, and seemed apprehensive of the consequences from such an evident disparity of numbers. De Cabral returned his majesty his most grateful thanks; but assured him that he should be able to make the zamorin repent of his temerity; and having prepared his ships for an engagement sailed directly to meet the enemy.

A storm arising, and the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to return, but next day proceeded again in quest of the foe. However, one of his best ships, that commanded by Sancho de Toar, being missing, he judged it advisable to abandon his design of an attack, and to steer homewards. The Calicut fleet pursued him for a day; but were soon sensible they could not overtake him. Thus prevented from returning to Cochin, as he had proposed, he carried off the hostages, contrary to the laws of nations, and in a manner which left the stigma of ingratitude on himself. The miserable men abstained from food for five days; but

afterwards being pressed by the admiral to eat, were at last reconciled to their situation.

The missing ship having joined, they arrived on the coast of Cananore, where the king repeated his invitation, which induced the admiral to enter the port. The city of Cananore is very large, and is situated thirty-one leagues to the north of Cochin. The bay forms a commodious harbour, and the houses are earth covered with slates. The surrounding country produces ginger, cardamums, cassia, myrabolans, and tamarinds, and all the necessaries of life. The lakes are full of alligators; and we are gravely told, by the original narrator of this voyage, that the adders are so venomous as to kill with their breath. In natural history most of the ancient voyagers are miserably deficient; and while they indulge in the wonderful, they sacrifice science and truth. This we should frequently have occasion to remark, were it our wish to make remarks on absurdities now exploded, and which can only be mentioned to excite a smile.

The king of this territory was one of the three independent princes of Malabar, but less opulent than the zamorin of Calicut or the king of Coulan. Here the admiral shipped four hundred quintals of cinnamon and some ginger; but the king, suspecting that the small quantity he bought arose from a deficiency in pecuniary resources occasioned from the losses he had sustained at Calicut, sent in a most generous manner to offer credit for whatever he might please to have. De Cabral, having returned merited thanks, was unwilling to leave the king with impressions of his poverty; and to convince his majesty of his resources, showed the messenger a large sum of money, and assured him that his ships being already laden was the real reason of his declining larger purchases at present.

So friendly was this king, that he sent an ambassador to his Portuguese majesty to cement the intercourse which had just begun. De Cabral now weighed from Cananore, and proceeded to cross the sea which sepa-

rates India from Africa. In this passage he took a large ship; but, finding she belonged to Cambaya, dismissed her, with assurances that his Portuguese majesty was at war in India with none but the zamorin of Calicut and the Arabians of Mecca, from whom he had suffered indignities that demanded an adequate retaliation.

As they were approaching the African shore, a terrible storm arose, in which the ship commanded by Sancho de Toar, one of the best in the fleet, was driven on a bank, and stuck fast. The crew and cargo were saved, and distributed among the other vessels; after which she was burned, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. Notwithstanding this precaution, the king of Mombassa, by much industry, found means to recover the great guns, which he esteemed a most valuable treasure. The tempest still continuing, they passed Melinda without being able to bring to, and at last reached Mosambique, where they found it necessary to refit the ships.

This being accomplished, De Toar was dispatched to examine the coast of Sofala, while the admiral proceeded on his voyage; and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 22d of May, arrived at Lisbon on the last day of July 1501, without any other material occurrence.

This expedition had met with many disasters, and encountered a variety of difficulties. Of all the ships only six returned, among which was De Toar, who safely reached Lisbon in a few days after the admiral.

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

VASQUEZ DE GAMA

TO THE

EAST INDIES.

THE Portuguese, anxious to reap the earliest possible fruits of their discoveries, exerted all their spirit and activity for this purpose. Before the arrival of De Cabral, Juan de Neuva, a native of Galicia, and a most accomplished seaman, had been sent out with another fleet to the East. His orders were, to touch at Sofala, then at Quiloa, and from thence to proceed to Calicut; and if he found De Cabral there, to put himself and his squadron under the command of that admiral. De Neuva having found a letter at San Blas, giving an account how matters stood at Calicut and Cochin, acted with the necessary caution. He arrived safe at Cochin, and found that the king was highly and deservedly incensed against De Cabral for carrying away the hostages, and that the Moors and merchants had taken every step to prejudice his majesty against the Portuguese. He had, however, given the factory some degree of protection; but without money no spices were to be procured at this place. De Neuva, being only furnished with commodities which he was to exchange, was obliged to proceed to Cananore: but here too the Portuguese commodities were in too little estimation to procure a lading; and had not the king become sponsor for a cargo the ships must have returned empty.

The zamorin, hearing that his enemies were on the coast, fitted out a powerful armament to attack them while they lay at Cananore. De Neuva, not intimidated by numbers, steered into the middle of the bay, and ordered his ships to pour in broadsides in all directions if the Indian fleet advanced. A cannonade commenced before the enemy could approach near enough to use their missile weapons, and many of their ships were sunk without doing the least injury to the Portuguese. This unequal combat could not last long. A flag of truce was hung out by the Indians; and after some ineffectual artifices to entrap the Europeans, they returned to Calicut, baffled in all their aims. De Neuva, having taken in his lading, returned to Portugal with all his ships. After his departure a message was brought to Cananore from the zamorin, to excuse his former conduct; and offering sufficient pledges for their security, should the Portuguese be disposed to renew their traffic.

This short sketch of a voyage, not very important in itself, is a necessary link in the chain of transactions.

De Cabral having made it appear incontestibly evident that without the application of force it would be impossible to form settlements in India, his Portuguese majesty sent out three squadrons in March 1502: the first of ten ships, under the celebrated Vasquez de Gama; the second of five, under Vincent de Sodre; and the third of as many, under Stephen de Gama. The whole was to be subordinate to Vasquez, to whom the king delivered the flag with great solemnity in the cathedral, and conferred on him the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas. With him returned the ambassadors of Cochin and Cananore, who had been much distinguished and caressed at court. The two first squadrons set sail in March, the other followed about the beginning of May.

Off Cape Verd, the admiral fell in with a ship for Lisbon, richly laden with gold, which De Gama dis-

played to the Indian ambassadors as a proof of the rich resources of his country They candidly confessed that this did not accord with the representations of the Venetian ambassador in Portugal; for that he had given them to understand, that, without the assistance of the Venetians, the Portuguese were too poor to put ships to sea. This mode of supplanting their new rivals in the commerce of the East was not very honourable;—But where is honour to be found, when interest stands in the way?

De Gama doubled the Cape without any remarkable occurrence, and then proceeded with four of his smallest vessels for Sofala, while the rest continued their voyage to Mosambique. The king's orders were, to observe the situation of Sofala, its convenience for erecting a fort, and to examine the gold of the country. Having entered into an amicable treaty with the king, he obtained permission to erect a fort; and mutual presents were exchanged. This transaction occupied twenty-five days, and the admiral took his leave with much satisfaction at having accomplished his object; but in turning out of the river had the misfortune to lose one of his ships.

Having reached Mosambique, where part of his fleet had preceded him, he struck up a league with the king, who had manifested so much reluctance to it in his former voyage: and, further, obtained permission to establish a factory; the object of which was, to furnish a depôt of provisions for ships going and returning from India.

On the 12th of July he arrived at Quiloa; and in revenge for the ill usage experienced by De Cabral, determined to compel the king to become tributary to Portugal. Ibrahim, through fear rather than respect, waited on him as soon as he arrived; when De Gama, knowing his perfidious disposition, threatened to confine him under the hatches, unless he immediately stipulated to pay a tribute to his royal master. The captive prince had now no alternative. He engaged

to advance two thousand miticals of gold yearly; but, with his accustomed duplicity, gave as his pledge a wealthy Moor, named Mahomet, whom he mortally hated, and was happy to get rid of. Ibrahim, being liberated on these conditions, no sooner found himself safe on shore, than he renounced his engagement, not so much to save the money, as to provoke the admiral to destroy his security; and the Moor, finding himself trapped, was glad to purchase his freedom by paying the tribute himself.

Having here formed a junction with the rest of the fleet, the admiral recommenced his voyage, and passing Melinda, watered in a large bay about eight leagues distance, where he captured several ships. On reaching the coast of India, he fell in with a large vessel belonging to the sultan of Egypt, which was richly laden, and had many principal Moors on board, who were going on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This ship he took after a vigorous resistance; and going on board, commanded the Moors to produce their merchandise, on pain of being thrown into the sea. They pretended that all their effects were left at Calicut; but one of them having been bound hand and foot, and thrown overboard, the rest were so intimidated at this dreadful example that they produced their property. The children were then carried into the admiral's ship, and the remainder of the plunder distributed among the soldiers. Not satisfied with this, the vessel, with all her passengers, was ordered to be set on fire. But the Moors having broken up the hatches under which they were confined, and quenched the flames which began to rage around them, Stephen de Gama was ordered to lay them on board. Desperate with the imminence of their danger, the passengers received him with great resolution, and even attempted to burn the other ships. Night coming on gave a respite to this work of horror; but so inveterate was the rage of De Gama, that he ordered the ship to be closely watched, that none might, by the favour of the

darkness, escape to the shore and elude his vengeance. During this dreadful night, the poor Moors, with unavailing prayers, invoked the assistance of the Prophet. The morning found the admiral relentless and unpitying. His brother boarded the vessel, and, setting fire to it, drove the Moors who still made an ineffectual struggle into the poop. Some of the sailors disdained to quit the ship till she was half consumed; and the Moors, when the flames were rapidly approaching them, leaped into the sea with hatchets, and, swimming, attacked their inhuman pursuers. To finish this melancholy tale, of three hundred persons, among whom were thirty women, not one escaped the fire, the sword, or the waves. Can humanity read this without a tear! can Christianity hear it without a blush! These victims of unprovoked cruelty will one day be heard at an impartial tribunal, where all the fame of De Gama, and all the Indies, could he possess them, would be given to silence their voice!

The admiral having reached Cananore, sent to acquaint the king that he desired a conference with him. To facilitate this interview, a wooden bridge was constructed, reaching a great way into the sea, and spread with carpets. At the end of the bridge, towards land, was a house of wood, likewise furnished with carpets. The king arrived first, attended by an immense body of naires, trumpets sounding, and other instruments of music playing before him. Soon after came the admiral, accompanied by all the boats of the fleet, bearing flags, and furnished with a band, and was landed under a discharge of ordnance. Before him were carried two silver basons, gilt, covered with pieces of coral, and other valued articles in the Indies. At the head of the bridge he was received by several naires; and the king meeting him at the door of the house, embraced him, and they walked together to the room of audience, where two chairs of state were placed, on one of which his majesty sat down, a mark of the highest respect to the admiral, accord-

ing to the etiquette of the country. At this audience a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded, and a factory granted at Cananore. Having laden some of the ships here, he directed his course to Calicut.

When de Gama arrived in that port, he took several proas before it was discovered who he was; but forbore all hostilities against the place, till he should be able to ascertain the zamorin's disposition and designs. In a short time a boat came off carrying a flag of truce, with a Moor disguised as a Franciscan friar, who being taken on board apologized for the deception of his dress, and owned it was assumed from the hope of a ready reception among the Portuguese. He brought a message from the zamorin in relation to the amicable adjustment of a treaty of commerce. The admiral, with firmness, replied, that any negotiation of this kind would be premature, till the king had made satisfaction for the destruction of the factory, to which he was consenting.

Several days were spent in fruitless messages and replies. De Gama, suspecting that the only object of the zamorin was to gain time, sent to assure him, that if he did not receive a final and satisfactory answer before noon, he would carry fire and sword into the country, and would begin to execute his vengeance on the prisoners in his possession. The zamorin, irresolute in himself, and under the influence of the Moors, returned no answer. But no sooner was the stipulated time expired, than De Gama fired a gun by way of signal to his captains to hang up all the Malabars in their respective ships. When this sanguinary execution was over, the admiral ordered the hands and feet of the victims to be struck off, and sent on shore to the zamorin, with a letter in Arabic, giving him to understand that such returns he must expect for his perfidy and artifice; and that he would have satisfaction a hundred fold for the injuries and indignities that had been offered to the Portuguese.

Without further ceremony, he ordered three ships

to advance, in the night, as close as possible to the shore; and next morning they began to batter the town, which was soon a heap of ruins.

Having glutted his revenge at Calicut, he departed for Cochin, leaving Vincent de Sodre with six ships to scour the coast and intercept the Moorish trade. No sooner had the admiral arrived at Cochin, than Trimumpara sent hostages on board and personally waited for him on the shore. At this interview De Gama delivered the king of Portugal's letter and presents. The prince of Cochin received both with expressions of pleasure; assigned a house for the use of the factory, and fixed the rates at which spices were to be delivered. This agreement was reduced to writing, and signed by Trimumpara. In return for the Portuguese presents, which were very costly, consisting of a gold crown and collar, a rich pavilion, and other valuable articles; he sent to his brother Emanuel two gold bracelets set with jewels, a Moorish sash for the head, of silver tissue, two large pieces of the finest calico, and a stone about the size of a walnut, reputed an antidote against poison, which was deemed a valuable rarity.

While De Gama lay at Cochin, a messenger arrived from the zamorin, to acquaint him that if he would return to Calicut every thing should be settled to his satisfaction. The deputy was put in confinement, that he might be punished in case of any new deceit. Having got this hostage for his own security, the admiral, contrary to the advice of all his captains, determined to proceed without convoy to Calicut; observing that, in case of danger, he had the ships of De Sodre to retreat to.

Being come into the road, the zamorin sent to inform him that next day every thing should be concluded betwixt them; and perhaps at the moment he spoke as he intended. But when once a propensity to trick and cunning gains an ascendancy over the mind, every opportunity of displaying it is embraced with avidity,

and the obliquities of deceit are preferred to the straight road of honour. De Gama was perceived to be unprotected, having left his ships behind him. This induced the zamorin to have recourse again to violence. He sent out thirty proas to take the admiral; and so sudden and unexpected was this attack, that he was obliged to cut his cables and save himself by flight.

Provoked, with reason, at so many repeated instances of treachery and duplicity, he ordered the messenger in confinement to be hanged on his return to Cochin. At this the zamorin expressed great concern, but finding that he in vain plotted against a man whose superior address or force always brought him off safe, he resolved to turn his batteries another way, and to attempt to influence the king of Cochin against admitting the Portuguese into his ports. With this view he dispatched a letter to the tributary prince, in which he depicted the Europeans as robbers and pirates, and represented the danger of encouraging them, as well as the displeasure it gave him. Trimumpara replied, that as they brought money into his dominions, it was for his interest to encourage them; and that the zamorin would not be willing, at his bare request, to abandon his old friends the Moors. To this the zamorin rejoined, that he was sorry to find the king of Cochin preferred the friendship of strangers to his, and threatened the consequences of a partiality so unjust.

The king of Cochin gave him to understand that he disregarded his menaces, and that he would never do a base or perfidious action through fear. Of this correspondence De Gama knew nothing till he was about to take his leave of Cochin; when the king informed him of what had passed, and declared he would run all risks in the service of the Portuguese. De Gama, with many expressions of gratitude, assured him that his royal master would never be unmindful of such steady faith; and in the name of his sovereign he engaged not only to defend the

prince, but even to enable him to vanquish his enemies, and extend his dominions on their ruins. This declaration inspired the king with new confidence; and even his naires, if they still retained some prejudices against the Portuguese, began to dread the consequences of their enmity.

The admiral, soon after sailing from Cochin, descried a fleet of twenty-nine large ships, fitted out by the zamorin to attack him. He immediately bore down to give them battle; and with so much vigour did the Portuguese assail the foe, that in a short time many of them, deserting their ships, sought refuge in the waves; while others crowded sail and made the shore, where, on account of the shoals, they knew the admiral could not pursue them. Many of the Moors were killed, and two ships were taken, richly laden with China ware, silver vessels gilt, and other costly merchandise. But the most remarkable article on board was a monstrous image of gold, weighing thirty pounds. Its eyes were emeralds; and it was partially covered with a drapery of beaten gold, curiously wrought, and set with brilliants. On the breast of this idol was a large ruby of the most resplendent lustre.

De Gama next proceeded to Cananore, where he obtained a house for the erection of a factory; and having regulated the price of spices according to the standard fixed on at Cochin, he left twenty-four men to superintend the trade. The two nations stipulated to defend each other: and the king of Cananore was not to enter into any alliance inimical to the interests of the king of Cochin. This being settled, the admiral commissioned De Sodre to remain on the coast till February; and if, in the interim, there was a probability of a war breaking out between the zamorin and the king of Cochin, he should winter in the latter place; if not, he was then to sail for the Red Sea, and capture all the ships from Mecca he found in his way. These directions De Sodre did not live to execute in their

full extent, being lost in a sudden storm, which the natives, judging from accustomed prognostics, had warned him to avoid.

On the 20th of December the admiral left the coast of India, in his way to Portugal, having thirteen ships under his conduct; and first touched at Mosambique. Near Cape Corientes he experienced contrary winds and sudden squalls; but nothing particularly impeding his voyage, he arrived at Cascais on the 1st of September, where several noblemen met him with their congratulations, and conducted him to court. As he approached his sovereign, a page preceded him carrying a silver bason with the tribute of the king of Quiloa. King Emanuel gave the admiral a most gracious reception, and conferred on him the title of Count Videgueyra.

His great services certainly merited every honour and distinction from a grateful country; but his laurels are tarnished by excesses of severity, sometimes unprovoked, and frequently disproportioned to the offence.

THE VOYAGE

OF

FERDINAND MAGELLAN

ROUND THE WORLD.

AMONG those illustrious navigators who have shown originality of conception and boldness of resolution, Ferdinand Magellan will always retain a distinguished place. Contemporary with Columbus and De Gama, he appears to have been animated with the same spirit, and to have deserved to participate in the laurels they won.

He was a native of Portugal, born a gentleman, and bred a soldier. He had served in the Indian as well as African wars with credit to himself and honour to his king; being particularly employed in those expeditions which succeeded De Gama's discovery, and which at length terminated in the reduction of Malacca, Goa, and Ormutz, under the dominion of Portugal.

Columbus went in search of a passage which he never found, and found what he little expected. The passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean was still a desideratum in navigation; and Vasquez de Nunez de Balboa having discovered the last-mentioned sea from the mountains of Panama, Magellan conceived the idea of the circumnavigation of the globe, which at that time was not generally allowed to be round. This grand idea, as it may be justly called, when we consider the age, he communicated to his

court; but being slighted in that particular, and, as it is said, denied the small augmentation of half a ducat a month to his pay, he resolved to quit Portugal, and seek his fortune in other countries.

The court of Spain had so much signalized itself by success in discoveries, and the encouragement it gave to adventurers, that Magellan naturally turned his thoughts that way. Charles V., one of the most powerful princes that ever lived, and in whose extensive dominions the sun never set, at that time filled the throne of Spain. To him, therefore, this officer applied; and, to forward his views, did not fail to represent that all the Banda and Molucca Islands must of right, according to the papal decree, belong to him; and these he proposed to discover by a western navigation.

This project, which had for its object the extension of dominion as well as the return of valuable commerce, was peculiarly acceptable to Charles. Without hesitation, he gave orders for making the necessary preparations, with as much expedition as circumstances would allow. Nor did the emperor stop here: he conferred the order of St. Jago on Magellan and his companion, Ruy Falero, as a spur to this arduous undertaking.

The Portuguese ambassador made strong opposition to this scheme; nor were there wanting some courtiers who, envious of Magellan's honours, threw every impediment they could in the way of his expedition. He received and submitted to many insults on account of his country; and when all was just ready for the embarkation, his hopes had nearly been frustrated of reaping the honour of the project, by Ruy Falero contesting with him the honour of bearing the royal standard. This matter being adjusted, and his rival persuaded to remain at home on account of a precarious state of health, which was very unequal to such a distant and uncertain voyage, Magellan was invested with the sole command of the squadron, and the business proceeded.

This squadron consisted of five ships: the St. Antonio, bearing the admiral's flag, Juan de Cartagena vice admiral; the St. Jago, commanded by Juan Roderiquez Serrano; and the Conception, Gaspar de Quezada master; and two others. These set sail from Cadiz on the 10th of August 1517, and arriving in safety at Teneriffe on the 2d of September, sailed from thence for Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil. After refreshing at this place, and taking in such necessaries as the voyage required, they pursued their course.

This course, however, was not universally agreed on. Various disputes arose about it; and some were for adopting one plan, some another. The fleet being anchored in St. Julian's river on Easter-day, and mass being ordered to be celebrated on shore, the three captains, Luys de Mendosa, Gaspar de Quezada, and Juan de Cartagena, absented themselves; a circumstance which filled the admiral with inquietude, because, from their disobedience, as well as from other previous symptoms, he had reason to suspect that a spirit of discontent pervaded the majority of his fleet. Thus, like Columbus, his difficulties began at an early period: because, where no one knew the course with certainty, each arrogated to himself as much right to judge of it as another.

In this dilemma, to return with disgrace was what Magellan could not brook; to proceed was to encounter a variety of hardships, at the same time that he had every thing to apprehend from his own people. While contemplating his situation, and before he could come to any precise resolution, the weather began to grow severe, and the murmurs to increase, and a conspiracy of the three captains being strongly suspected, the admiral was induced to call his own ship's crew to arms. In the mean time, as Mendosa was reading a letter which he had received from the admiral, he was stabbed to the heart. At that instant a boat was manned with about thirty of the admiral's firmest

friends, who, boarding the other ships, took forty prisoners, who were supposed to be the deepest in the conspiracy. Quezada alone was sentenced to be executed, and the body of Mendosa was quartered. Thus the opposition was allayed for the time by this act of severity; and proper measures were concerted for the fleet to proceed, as soon as the season was favourable.

In the interim, Serrano was dispatched to examine the American coast, along which they were to sail, in order to make the wished-for discovery.

If we may give credit to the Spanish accounts of this voyage, while they were thus detained on the Brasilian coast, they saw men of a gigantic stature, whose voices, when enraged, resembled bulls. One of these came on board, whose face was as frightful as his voice was terrific; and such was his height, that an ordinary-sized Spaniard could only reach to his waist. We consider this, however, as the embellishment of romance, and are sorry to say that this voyage, in general, bears marks of a partiality for the marvellous.

That a race above the common size exists on this coast, we shall see confirmed by future voyagers, whose authenticity we cannot dispute; but with all this exaggeration, it seems the savage was peaceable in his deportment, and thankful for such trifling presents as he received, till the Spaniards endeavoured to put shackles on his legs to secure him; and if he then roared out like a bull, we need not wonder, since the provocation and the danger were sufficient to make him exert every faculty both of body and mind,

He was dressed in the skins of some strange wild beast; and we learn that the people in general on this coast were habited in a similar manner. They are described as ignorant and superstitious, believing that their country is haunted by evil spirits, of whose influence they are much afraid. Their weapons were bows and arrows. Their huts were constructed with

skins, and portable from place to place. They devoured their meat with the voraciousness of cannibals, without seeming to know any modes of previous dressing it. They used a root called Caper instead of bread, and drank vast quantities of water with their meals.

The only religious ideas they seem to possess, centred in the belief of two beings, one of whom they termed Sebetos, who seemed to be superior; and the other, whom they denominated Chelcule, a subordinate kind of deity. In this barren country, since called Patagonia, they set up a cross, and took possession with the usual solemnities.

Serrano, who, as has been mentioned before, was dispatched on an expedition to reconnoitre the coast, discovered a river about a league broad at the entrance, to which he gave the name of Saint Clare. He spent six days in examining it, and fishing for seals; and was afterwards exposed to a violent storm, which dashed his vessel on the shore. The crew was saved from the fury of the elements only to suffer the extremities of famine on a barren coast. In this miserable situation, two of the people were fortunate enough to convey intelligence to the admiral, who dispatched a vessel to their assistance, and thus saved them from inevitable death.

At last Magellan left the port of St. Julian, where he had staid so long with little satisfaction, on the 24th of August, setting Juan de Cartagena on shore, together with Pedro Sanchez Revora, the priest, for being principals in the conspiracy. This punishment was worse than a thousand deaths, as it tantalized them with life, while they were denied all its enjoyments, and even its necessaries. They were left, indeed, with a stock of provisions, but were never heard of more.

About the end of October, the fleet reached a promontory which Magellan named Cape Virgin, and, perceiving an inlet, sent to explore the coast. On re-

ceiving the different reports of the persons deputed on this expedition, a council of the chief officers and pilots was called, in which Estevan Gomez, pilot of the Antonio, declared for returning home, and was followed by all the members, the admiral only excepted, who, with a resolution bordering on madness, declared, that in spite of tempest and famine he was resolved to persevere. The Antonio being afterwards sent to explore a nearer passage than any which they had yet a reason to expect, the above pilot, together with the purser, having stabbed the master, carried the ship home; and the admiral, having in vain endeavoured to come up with her, proceeded on his uncertain voyage. At length he fell in with the passage he had been so long in search of, in latitude 52 deg. south, and entered those straits which will make his name immortal. In a transport of joy he named the point of land from which he had this agreeable prospect, Port Desire. Much was now accomplished, but much remained to be done. It required all his caution and skill to sail through this new-discovered passage; and before they could enter the Great South Sea, which was on the 28th of December, one year, four months, and eighteen days had elapsed since their departure from Spain.

On this wide and almost boundless ocean, they wandered between three and four months without seeing land, except two desert islands. Their distresses were so great, that they were reduced to the miserable expedient of eating the hides that covered the ships' rigging, which they steeped in salt water in order to render them more easy of mastication. To this deplorable state of famine, it is not to be wondered at that sickness should succeed; and those who were not absolutely disabled by illness, found themselves incapable of subsisting on these hard viands, by the gums covering their teeth, by which some were starved to death. It was providential for the rest, who still were obliged to attend to the duty of the ship, that

they were sailing on a placid sea, impelled by gentle breezes, from whence it was denominated the Pacific Ocean.

On the 6th of March they fell in with a cluster of islands, named the Ladrones, or Isles of Thieves. Here they landed full of hope; but found the inhabitants existing in the most savage and uncivilized state, without any appearance of moral order or social contract among them. The men were entirely naked, of an olive complexion, with long hair depending to their waists. The women were more decent in their appearance, having a partial covering of palm-tree leaves, and appeared to be very industrious. But while these were busied in domestic concerns, their husbands employed themselves in thieving abroad, and soon became so troublesome to their new guests, that the Spaniards, after threats, firing upon them, and burning some of their huts, to deter them from these practices, but all in vain, departed from thence and landed at Zamul, about thirty leagues distant. Here it should be remarked, that though these people seemed so incurably addicted to theft, it probably did not arise from any innate depravity; but from their imperfect notions of the sacred right of private property. When all things are in common, whatever pleases the fancy is taken without any sense of wrong. The inhabitants of the Ladrones, seeing what gratified them, perhaps, had no conception that they should be debarred from being gratified with what they saw.

Leaving Zamul, they soon came to Humuna, a pleasant island, and inhabited by a humane people, ready to accommodate the visitors with whatever refreshments the place supplied. Here they recruited their exhausted strength, and then passing between several more islands, touched at Buthuan, where they were honourably entertained by the king. The natives, though certainly unacquainted with Christian forms, were observed, or supposed, by Magellan, to make

the sign of the cross at their meals The king's palace had no more external marks of grandeur than a hay-loft, being raised upon such high posts that it could not be entered without a ladder. These islands regarded their guests with particular admiration, and even treated them as superiors in the scale of being. The soil was said to be so rich, that pieces of gold, of the size of hazel-nuts, and some much larger, were sifted from the common mould of the country.

The king was a comely man, of an olive complexion. He was clothed in cotton; wore a dagger with a gold haft by his side; and was decorated with a profusion of gold rings. Magellan presented his majesty with various coloured cloth, and distributed glasses, knives, and crystal beads among his attendants. It is related that one of the islanders offered a Spaniard a crown of gold and a collar for six threads of crystal beads, but that the admiral would not permit such an unequal traffic to be carried on. If this is true, it evinces a moderation which few of the Spaniards were inclined to imitate in their distant expeditions. The natives were a very lively people, and appeared to have no other religious rites among them than a certain ceremony which they practised of lifting up their hands and eyes towards heaven, and calling on their god Abba. We are further told, that they suffered their guests to erect a cross and a crown of thorns: but to this they were induced by a pious fraud of Magellan's, who persuaded them that this cross would protect them from the dangers of lightning and tempest, to which this climate is very subject.

After sailing among several islands, most of which afforded fruits, goats, and poultry, which supplies proved extremely beneficial to the mariners, the fleet arrived at Zubut on the 7th of April. Here they fired a salute on entering the harbour, which at first threw the inhabitants into great consternation: but on the nature of the compliment being explained, they were

speedily reconciled to their guests. The king, however, thought fit to demand tribute for touching on his coasts; but this Magellan flatly refused to pay. And his majesty having been told that these strangers were Portuguese, whose countrymen had stormed Calicut, and were renowned for their military achievements in India, judged it advisable to desist from his pretensions, and to study to render himself as agreeable as he could. Magellan, we are gravely told, had influence enough to prevail on this prince, his brother, and the queen, to receive the rite of spiritual ablution; and that a total abolition of idolatry took place throughout his dominions in the short space of eight days. That the prince or his people might be brought to the use of external forms is not very improbable; but that they could be converted to Christianity was impossible. They could neither understand the language of Magellan, nor could he understand theirs: principles they could acquire none, without this medium of communication:—but it is much to be feared that, in former times, and perhaps now, rites are mistaken for essentials; and baptism, which is only the initiatory ceremony, is, by a figure of language, taken for religion itself.

After surmounting as many dangers as man could undergo; after seeing himself in possession of his wishes, and establishing his character for discernment and active skill to remotest ages, the time was now approaching that Magellan was to meet his fate. Leaving Zubut, he proceeded to the Isle of Mathan. This was under the government of two kings, from whom the Spaniards demanded an acknowledgment of tribute. This being justly refused, an open rupture ensued; and the admiral, with only sixty Spaniards, gave battle to the natives, whose numbers have been calculated to amount to six thousand. After a long and sharp conflict, in which the loss on the side of the Indians was much less than might have been expected, and on both not very considerable,

Magellan, being too far advanced, was wounded with a poisoned arrow, and pierced in the head with a lance, which terminated his life and exploits. Even his body was never recovered.

Some have maintained that he was dispatched by his own men, to whom his strict discipline had rendered him odious and intolerable. In former periods of the voyage, this might have been the case; but now, having reached a land of plenty, and surmounted their principal difficulties, it can scarcely be believed that the Spaniards would risk their own safety by violating his. Indeed, the most authentic accounts of this unfortunate transaction say that his men were much disconcerted at his loss.

Though Magellan had not the honour of being the first circumnavigator of the globe, as he was cut off before the completion of his voyage, yet he showed the practicability of the scheme; and those who followed him had no more claims to original discovery than the followers of Columbus: they, indeed, went further; but they knew the track in which they were to go.

It is probable, however, that Magellan had very little idea of meeting with the strait that bears his name. His original thought was to coast along to the southward, as the land trended, and, by perseverance, he persuaded himself that a boundary would be found to the new continent as well as the old. By doubling the Cape of Good Hope, a passage was found into the Indian seas; and Magellan did not seem to doubt but some other promontory existed which would open a way to the Pacific Ocean. Thus original minds, by combination and reflection, may strike out plans, which, though clear to them, could never have been conceived by ordinary capacities, nor executed but by the first projectors.

But to return.—After the death of Magellan, a company of his followers, being invited to an entertainment

on shore, were treacherously murdered; and only don Juan Serrano, of all who landed, was reserved alive, in order to procure a large supply of fire-arms and ammunition by way of ransom. But those who remained on board, fearful of being trepanned, would have no further intercourse with this perfidious people, and sailed away, leaving the unfortunate Serrano to their mercy.

The company on board, which amounted to eighty men, held on their course towards the Moluccas, of which Magellan had received some intelligence before his catastrophe. At Behol they burned the ship Conception, and distributed the hands in the other two. From thence they proceeded to Paviloghan and Chippir, where there was gold, with plenty of goats, fruits, and spices. The natives treated them in a very amicable manner; and the prince stained his body with blood, as a symbol of the covenant of peace.

After touching at Caghinan and Puloan, they arrived at Borneo, after weathering a tempest. They found the island very populous. The king was a Moor, and observed great state. His capital contained twenty-five thousand houses. Camphor, cinnamon, oranges and lemons were the principal productions of the country. While they lay here, they were attacked by an Indian fleet which they defeated, taking an Indian prince prisoner, who, through negligence or design, was permitted to escape.

Passing some other islands, they steered for the Moluccas; and after sustaining another storm reached Tiridore, the chief of these islands, on the 8th of November. Thus one object of the voyage was accomplished,—to sail to the Moluccas by the west. They found these islands to be five in number, abounding in oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and rich spices. The inhabitants were Moors and Pagans; the latter of which, among other absurdities, were said to worship the first object they met in the morning; though in

point of superstition the Mahometans, in general, exceeded them.

Having opened a warehouse, an advantageous trade commenced with the natives. Cloth, glass and quicksilver found a ready exchange for cloves and other valuable productions of those islands. Provisions were abundant and good, of which the Spaniards laid in a competent supply. At their departure, they were honoured by the attendance of the kings of several of the Moluccas as far as Mare, where they took an affectionate leave.

The company was now reduced to forty-six Spaniards and thirteen Indians. In their course they touched at Timor, where ginger and white sander wood abounded, as well as necessary provisions.

From hence they intended to shape their course for the Cape of Good Hope; but after long waiting for a favourable wind, they ran down to latitude 42 deg. south. Avoiding Mosambique, from an apprehension of meeting with the Portuguese, these adventurers were reduced to the last distress for provisions. In this situation they reached the Cape de Verd Islands, where, notwithstanding they had cause for fear, such was their pressing want, that they chose rather to risk being detained than to perish with famine. At first they were supplied with provisions; but, on landing again, thirteen of the crew were seized and made prisoners. The rest, fearful of the same fate, and unable to contend, set sail without them. Favourable gales attended their progress, and on the 7th of September they arrived in safety at the port of St. Lucar, under the conduct of John Sebastian Camo, after circumnavigating the globe in three years and thirty-seven days. Of the whole squadron, only one ship had the good fortune to return to Spain; and of two hundred and thirty-four officers and seamen, the complement at setting out, only thirteen Spaniards survived to visit their native land.

Don Sebastian Camo was received with very extra-

ordinary honour by the emperor Charles V., who, to distinguish him and his posteri y for ever, assigned him the terrestrial globe for his arms, with the motto PRIMUS ME CIRCUMDEDISTI, *You have first surrounded me.* He likewise came in for many liberal rewards, which, had Magellan lived, would have been peculiarly his due.

VOYAGE OF

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

THE FIRST

ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATOR.

NOTWITHSTANDING their insular situation, which, of all others, is best adapted for navigation, the English were long ignorant of the advantages which Nature had given them, or indifferent about their application. But it is characteristic of this nation, when once roused, to persevere long; to improve on whatever original ingenuity has produced; and, by steadily pursuing the same object, undaunted by opposition, undismayed by difficulties, to leave all competitors behind.

The English, indeed, had not the glory of discovering America, but they soon followed in the same course; they did not find out the way to the East, but when the track was opened they soon joined in the pursuit, and participated in the spoils.

The amazing exertions of the Portuguese in their African and East Indian expeditions, roused all nations to emulation. The Spaniards had endeavoured to share the advantages, and the English failed not to imitate their example. Spain, indeed, seems in this respect to have favoured the views of our countrymen; but the remonstrances of the Portuguese gave a temporary check to their designs. It appears, however, that the English frequently traded to the Canary Islands, and even established factors there to conduct their trade.

It was about the middle of the sixteenth century that the spirit of commerce began to display itself in England; and a favourable conjunction of circumstances not only kept it alive, but extended its influence in the South as well as the North.

About the year 1551, captain Thomas Wyndham, in the

Lion, sailed to Morocco, whither he carried back two Moors, of the royal family, who had been in England. This was our first recorded voyage to the western coast of Africa; and few are the particulars relative to it which have reached these times. It appears, however, that one James Alday, a servant to Sebastian Cabato, represented himself as the first promoter of this traffic with Barbary. In a letter to a friend, he observes, that the command of this ship, and the conduct of the voyage, ought to have belonged to him; but that sir John Lutterel, John Fletcher, Henry Ostrich, and others, with whom he had joined, died of the sweating sickness; and that he himself with difficulty escaped that alarming malady. He further states, that before his recovery Thomas Wyndham sailed away with the ships from Portsmouth, by which he lost the sum of eighty pounds. Alday, if we may believe his own account, seems to have been very ill used; but as success in all ages has generally been set down for merit, next year, 1552, we find Wyndham performed a second voyage to Zafin and Santa Cruz, without the straits which he had visited the year before. This gave great offence to the Portuguese, who menaced to treat the English as enemies, if they were found within those limits.

Notwithstanding these threats, the following year, the same Wyndham and Antonio Anes Pinteado, a Portuguese, the promoter of this attempt, undertook a voyage to Guinea, with three ships and a hundred and forty men. They traded along the coast for gold, after which they sailed for Benin, to load pepper. In this the two principals in the expedition disagreed. Pinteado knew that the climate and the season of the year were most inimical to health; but he was overruled by Wyndham, who, too late, discovered the truth of his associate's remarks; and, after having the mortification to see many of his men fall a sacrifice to the climate, soon fell sick himself and died. Pinteado, on whom the command now devolved, was grossly abused by the crews. Before it was possible to get some of the merchants on board, who were attending the court of Benin, he was compelled to set sail, and was at last superseded and thrust among the cabin-boys, where he fell a martyr to a broken heart. Scarcely forty of the men returned to Plymouth; and on the whole this was a disastrous voyage.

But every attempt threw new light on the subject; and the errors of their predecessors were a direction for the conduct of succeeding mariners. It was found that this trade was greatly productive, and susceptible of much improvement; it is not, therefore, matter of surprise, that one adventurer followed another in the same career.

In 1554 captain John Lock made a voyage to Africa with

three ships; and trading along the coast with cautious circumspection, was fortunate enough to obtain a considerable quantity of gold and ivory in exchange for merchandise. Captain Towerson made three voyages to this quarter in the following years, with various success; but the details are little interesting. Baker, Carlet, and Fenner are likewise mentioned as being engaged in the African trade; but where trade is the principal object, it is seldom that the narrative of transactions would be thought worthy of general regard.

This short connected view, however, of the early progress of the English on the coasts of Africa we judged necessary:—to have said more, would have swelled the volume without increasing its value. But it should be observed, that upon application to queen Elizabeth by certain merchants, two patents were granted: one for the Barbary or Morocco trade, in 1585; and the other for the Guinea trade, between the rivers Senegal and Gambia, in 1588. A third, exclusive patent, was obtained by another party of adventurers, to trade from the river Nonnia to the south of Sierra Leona, extending for about one hundred leagues. These patents gave rise to the African Company.

The views of the English enlarging with their successful efforts, and finding that the discovery of a north-east as well as a north-west passage to the Indies had been attempted in vain, they resolved to pursue the track of the Portuguese, and push their discoveries round Africa, for the East. In 1591, three large ships, under the command of captain Raymond, made the first arduous attempt, as it then appeared, to double the Cape; and again, another fleet, in 1596, under captain Wood, sailed on the same errand; but the success of neither expedition was adequate to the abilities and exertions displayed, though they showed what might be expected from the rich productions of the Indies. At length, however, in 1600, a body of merchants and gentlemen, to the number of two hundred and sixteen, with George earl of Cumberland at their head, solicited and obtained from queen Elizabeth a charter for carrying on a trade to the East Indies, under the appellation of the COMPANY OF MERCHANTS ADVENTURERS. And thus the foundation was laid of our oriental commerce, which is now without a parallel in the history of nations. But we are anticipating the order of events. Some of the most remarkable early East India voyages must be detailed at length.

Of those who, by their valour and nautical skill, contributed to give an eclat to their country, and to the great princess they served, none is more distinguished than sir Francis Drake. There appears, however, to be a kind of cloud, that frequently obscures the origin of celebrated persons, hanging over his early years. The patronage given to Drake (like the birth of Columbus, whose very name was in dispute) seems to be a matter not easily ascertained. It appears, however, that he was one of the twelve children of Mr. Edmund Drake, of Tavistock in Devonshire, and that he was born in 1545. His father being much inclined to the protestant religion, under the reign of the cruel and bigoted Mary, was obliged to retire from his native place and settle in Kent, in order to avoid persecution. Under Elizabeth, he was made a chaplain in the royal navy; probably, as a small return for his religious and political tenets and sincerity.

Our hero was early destined for the sea, and received that kind of education which was best adapted for the object of his pursuits. Sir John Hawkins, a celebrated navigator*, who was Drake's kinsman, is said to have early taken him under his protection. At the age of eighteen, it is certain, he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea, which then began to be visited; and at twenty-two, he was promoted to the command of the Judith. In that capacity, while he lay in the harbour of St John de Ulloa, in the Gulf of Mexico, he greatly distinguished himself, and participated in the honour of all the glorious actions of his commander, sir John Hawkins. With him he returned to England, high in reputation, but without in the least improving his fortune. The events of this voyage seem to have given Drake a

* Sir John Hawkins has the credit, if it can be deemed any, of establishing the slave trade on the coast of Guinea.

rooted enmity against the Spaniards; and this only terminated with his life.

Soon after his return home, Drake projected an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies; which was no sooner promulgated, than he had numerous volunteers ready to accompany him. In 1570 he set out, in prosecution of his schemes, with two ships; and the next year, with only one, in which he returned safe, if not with all the advantages he expected to derive from his labours. He made another expedition in 1572, wherein he did the enemy some mischief, and gained a considerable share of plunder; for these expeditions were chiefly predatory. While he was prosecuting these enterprises, he had the good fortune to be assisted by an Indian nation, equally inimical with himself to the Spanish name. The prince of these people was named Pedro, to whom Drake made a fine present of a cutlass from his side, which he perceived the Indian greatly admired. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, which Drake threw into the common stock, with this emphatic observation, "that he thought it just, that such as bore the charge of such uncertain undertakings on his credit, should share the utmost advantages they produced." Then embarking his men, with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England, where he arrived in 1573.

His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable conduct towards the owners and his men, gained him a high reputation, and the application he made of his newly acquired riches a still greater: for, fitting out three stout frigates at his own expense, he sailed to Ireland; and serving as a volunteer, under Walter earl of Essex, performed some prodigies of valour. After the death of this noble patron, he returned to England, where sir Christopher Hatton, a mighty favourite with the queen, introduced him to her majesty, and procured him countenance and protection at court. Thus basking in the beams of royal favour, his views ex-

panded to nobler aims than he had yet attempted; and he projected that expedition we are now about to relate, which will render his name immortal.

When a man once gives up the reins of imagination to views of interest or ambition, nothing will appear difficult which gives him a chance of gratifying his favourite passion. Such was the case with Drake. Having once had a prospect of the Great South Sea, he was determined that no human obstacle should deter him from endeavouring to revisit America, and from spreading his sails on that ocean. But indefatigable as he was in pursuit of this design, it was not till the year 1577 that he had collected a force sufficient to man five vessels; and, by a pretended royal authority, appeared as admiral, or, as the phrase then was, general of the squadron.

The fleet equipped for this new expedition consisted of the Pelican, the flag ship, of one hundred tons burthen; the Elizabeth, John Winter vice-admiral; the Marygold, commanded by captain Thomas; the Swan, of fifty tons, captain John Chester; and the Christopher, of fifteen tons, which was committed to the charge of one of his carpenters.

These ships were partly fitted out at his own risk, and partly at the expense of others; and were manned with one hundred and sixty-four chosen seamen. They were well stored with all necessary provisions; and, at the same time, were furnished with whatever could contribute to ornament or delight; carrying expert musicians, rich furniture, and choice productions of the country. Not only the admiral's table, but the cook-room was provided with silver utensils; partly to command a higher degree of respect; and, perhaps, partly to gratify personal vanity, which, in some characters, is found to be united with the meanest avarice.

This cautious commander, notwithstanding his fame had been blazoned abroad, reflecting on the difficulties to which his men had been exposed in former expedi-

tions, which might have deterred the less resolute; or more probably, to conceal his real designs from the detection of the enemy, had engaged his crews for a voyage to Alexandria; nor was the real destination known till they reached the coast of Brasil.

Every requisite preparation having been made, Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 15th of November 1577; but soon after was forced by stress of weather into Falmouth, where he was detained till the 13th of December, when he took his final departure, with all the auspices of a favourable voyage. On the 27th of the month, the squadron anchored off Mogadore, an island about a mile from the continent of Barbary. Here having got ready the frames of his pinnaces, which he had carried out with him, he began to put them together. The Moors, observing these proceedings, sent two of their chiefs on board the admiral's ship, receiving two Englishmen as hostages. These Moors were handsomely entertained by Drake, that they might form a partial opinion of the English nation.

Next day, however, this friendly intercourse was at an end. One John Fry leaping on shore from the ship's boat, was immediately mounted on horseback, and conveyed up the country. Though this man, after being closely interrogated, was dismissed with apologies and assurances that the natives had mistaken this squadron for the Portuguese, from whom they expected an invasion, the admiral resolved not to protract his stay in this place. Accordingly, he departed on the last day of December; and after having taken several Spanish vessels in his way, arrived at Cape Blanco on the 17th of January, where the English and the natives carried on a friendly traffic to their mutual satisfaction.

Having plundered and discharged his captives at Cape Blanco, the admiral proceeded for the Cape Verd Islands, and anchored at Mayo on the 27th of January 1578. It was his wish and expectation to

find a supply of provisions here; but the Portuguese having been interdicted from holding any intercourse with them, he was in a great measure frustrated in his design.

They passed St. Jago on the 31st of the same month. The Portuguese having dispossessed the natives of a great part of this island, and driven them to the woods and mountains, at this period led a life of great uneasiness, being constantly exposed to the inroads and assaults of the aboriginal inhabitants, who watched every opportunity of retaliating the injuries they had received. As Drake's squadron passed by this island, three pieces of cannon were discharged at them, but without doing any execution. In revenge, however, for the insult offered, they took a Portuguese vessel laden with wines; and discharging the crew, kept only Nuno de Sylva, the pilot, a man who, from his knowledge of the American coast, was found of the most essential service in the course of the voyage.

About this time a misunderstanding broke out between the commander and a gentleman of the name of Doughty, one of his particular friends; the occasion and circumstances of which have been differently related: but according to the best authorities it originated from some improper conduct of Thomas Drake, which his brother the admiral was so far from punishing or censuring, that, from the moment he was informed of it, he conceived an implacable and unreasonable resentment against the accuser. This afterwards led to a very tragical event.

Proceeding on their voyage, they came to Fogo, which has a volcano in its centre. They afterwards touched at Brava, which abounded with fruits and was extremely well watered; but, having no convenient harbour, at that time was destitute of inhabitants. Here Drake taking in water, continued his voyage, and passed the equator on the 17th of February, after experiencing a succession of calms and storms. On the 5th of April the coast of Brasil was descried; and

next day one of the vessels, with twenty-eight men on board, and some of the most necessary supplies, which had been missing for more than a week, fortunately joined her consorts.

During this interval, the quarrel between the admiral and Doughty seems to have been exacerbated on some trivial occasion: for Drake was determined on his destruction. As a proof of this, when the fly boat, on board of which Doughty had contemptuously been put, separated from the fleet in a storm, the admiral laid the accident to his charge; pretending that he was a wizard, and whenever there was any bad weather, he used to say that "it came out of Doughty's capcase."

After the storm, sailing southward, they came to Cape Joy, so named from the recovery of the missing vessel. They found no inhabitants at this place, and soon resumed their voyage. In their course the fly boat was again lost sight of, which determined Drake to diminish the number of his ships. On the 13th of May, the admiral discovered a bay, and went out in his boat to sound it. While thus engaged, he was overtaken by a sudden storm at the distance of three leagues from his ships; and had it not been for the active and immediate exertions of captain Thomas, who boldly sailed in to his relief, he must have been cast away. Dreadful as this storm was in the harbour, its effects were scarcely perceptible at sea. As soon as it abated, the crews discovered the situation of the commander, by some fires which had been kindled; and the parties joined on ahore.

They saw no inhabitants in this place; but found two wigwams, or Indian huts, and several dried fowls, among which were some ostriches. Of the latter, they perceived many alive, none of which, however, could be caught, from the swiftness with which they ran.

On the 19th they came to an anchor in a more c nvenient bay; where the Swan, which had been sepa-

rated, having rejoined the fleet, was broken up; and the iron work preserved for any future emergencies. In their immediate vicinity was an island about a mile from the main, to which, at low water, the sea was fordable. Here they observed a body of Indians, who, by their gestures, seemed to invite the English on shore. Drake therefore dispatched his boat with bells, bugles, and other toys. The natives retired on their landing; but the English, having fixed their intended presents on a pole, retired also, to give them an opportunity of taking them without suspicion. On this the Indians advanced, and left some of the plumes which decorated their heads, with a bone, carved and burnished, about six inches long; and spreading their hands to the east and the west, and then lifting them up to the moon, which shone over their heads, seemed to intimate professions of amity. While they were busied in these unintelligible ceremonies, the English were marching up a hill; but perceiving that their approach gave a new alarm, they again peaceably retired, which encouraged the natives to come forward, and open a traffic with the strangers with great ease and familiarity. One of the Indians, being presented with a cap by Drake, which he took from his own head, retired and thrust an arrow into his leg till the blood trickled down, which the admiral interpreted as an expression of gratitude for the favour, and that he would shed his blood in his service.

These people had no covering but the skins of some wild beasts, which were occasionally spread over their shoulders. Their hair was long, and rolled up with a plume of ostrich feathers, in which they stuck arrows of reeds, pointed with flints. Their bodies were painted with various figures, representing the sun and moon, with other devices, somewhat after the manner of the aborigines of our own country. They seemed totally unacquainted with navigation; and therefore had no means of crossing the water. Hence the birds on some neighbouring islands, having neve

known the tyranny of man, were so tame that they suffered themselves to be taken by the hand. Such an amazing number of seals appeared on the coast, that the admiral gave this place the appellation of Seal Bay. On the flesh of this animal the Indians chiefly subsisted, eating it raw, as they appeared to be perfectly ignorant of all culinary arts.

From hence the fleet weighed on the 3d of June for the South Sea; and, a few days after, coming-to in a small bay, the Christopher was broken up, as being too small to encounter the stormy seas through which they were to sail. Soon after, having lost sight of the Portuguese prize, they in vain waited for some time in hopes of her joining; but at last despairing of her safety, they proceeded to Port Julian, where they had the good fortune to find her. Two of the natives, of whose gigantic stature Magellan's people had given such an exaggerated account, accosted them as soon as they landed, received with pleasure whatever presents were offered them, and, by way of sportive emulation, began showing their dexterity in darting; but soon found themselves excelled by their more experienced guests.

This friendly competition was soon at an end. Another of the natives appearing, seemed displeased with the familiarity with which his countrymen treated the strangers, and had influence enough to provoke them to hostilities. They poured a shower of arrows on the English, and wounded one of them severely. Oliver, the master gunner, on this, presented his piece, which unfortunately missing fire, he was dispatched by another flight of arrows. All was now surprise and confusion; but Drake, who never wanted intrepidity and presence of mind in dangers, encouraging his men, directed them how to shift and avoid the arrows of the enemy. Then taking up the gun which had missed fire, he discharged it at the Indian who had killed the gunner; who, being dreadfully wounded in the belly, fled with the most hideous outcries. This so intimidated the rest, that they permitted the admiral to with-

draw his wounded men; and though he remained two months on the coast, he experienced no other act of aggression.

Here they found the gibbets on which Magellan had hanged some of his mutinous crew; and perhaps the spectacle stimulated Drake to execute his long preconceived vengeance on Mr. Doughty. Of this tragical affair there are various accounts; but none, though they palliate the admiral's conduct, that can wipe away the stain of deliberate cruelty. With a mockery of the principles of justice, while he observed some of its least important forms, he condemned to death a gentleman who had been his friend, and who had followed his fortunes by his particular solicitations. The mock tribunal, which had been instituted by Drake, and over which he presided himself, confirmed the sentence: but impartial history must acquit Doughty of any criminal charge. Sentence being passed, he was allowed a day's respite to settle his affairs, both temporal and eternal: his implacable enemy, it is even said, received the communion with him, and, with an hypocritical show of regard, assured him of his prayers. The consciousness of innocence seems to have supported this ill-fated gentleman: he broke out into no invectives against his prejudiced judges; he preserved a serenity of countenance and mind; recommended his friends to the candour of the admiral; and submitted to death with a heroic constancy and fortitude. He suffered decapitation on the 2d of July, 1578, and has left an eternal stain on the memory of Drake.

This execution over, the admiral, by plausible harangues and excuses, endeavoured to justify his conduct; but though his crews, who did not dare to murmur, might acquiesce in his decision, we will not tire our readers with the flimsy arguments he used. From an impartial review of the whole business, as far as existing authorities would enable us to judge, we have delivered our opinion without reserve. Cruelty we abhor, and not the less so for wearing the mask of justice.

The fleet being now reduced to three ships, by the Marygold having separated in a storm, which compelled the captain to make the best of his way to England, the admiral left Port St. Julian, and entered the straits of Magellan on the 20th of August. In this intricate and dangerous navigation, they discovered an island, to which they gave the name of Elizabeth, in honour of the queen. Though this passage sometimes seemed entirely landlocked, by capes and promontories, they effected it in a shorter space of time than has ever been done by any succeeding navigator.

Magellan had observed many harbours here; but remarked that they were without soundings. This does not appear to be actually the case. The real danger arises from the tides and gales continually meeting in contrary directions. The harbours are not bad; and the land on both sides rises into innumerable mountains, the tops of which are encircled with clouds and vapours, which condensing, fall in snow, and increase the eternal loads of ice. The valleys, however, are not without some appearance of verdure and fertility.

Anchoring in a bay near Cape Forward, in the straits, Drake observed a canoe with several of the natives in it. This vessel, to his astonishment, he found was constructed wholly of bark, sewed together with thongs and filaments of seal-skins, so compactly executed, that little water could penetrate. The people appeared well formed, and were painted like those in the vicinity of Port St. Julian. On the shore they had erected a hut with poles, covered with skins; and all their necessary utensils were formed of bark. Among these natives, a share of sagacity and indefatigable industry supplied the place of such manufactures, or natural productions, as, in more civilized countries, are deemed indispensably necessary for the comforts of life. Though wholly strangers to iron and its use, they substituted the shell of a muscle found on the coasts in its stead. This they ground on a stone to an edge so firm and so-

lid, that neither wood nor stone could resist it; and with these instruments they performed all their mechanical operations.

On the 6th of September, after a passage of only sixteen days, Drake entered the Great South Sea, intending to hold on his course towards the equinoctial line.

But the very next day, after observing an eclipse of the moon, the fleet was overtaken by such a violent storm, that they were wholly at the mercy of the winds and waves, which, after beating them about for a month in the greatest distress, left them at last two hundred leagues out of their course, in latitude 55 south.

Here they discovered a number of islands; and coming to an anchor near one of them, found a very desirable supply of water and vegetables. A few Indians, the inhabitants, readily trafficed with the English; and exchanged provisions for the usual baubles most valuable in the eyes of uncultivated nations.

Departing from these shores, another storm arose, and drove them to the very extremity of the South American coast, where they saw, for the first time, the conflux of the western and southern oceans; and at length enjoyed the felicity of sailing on a calm and unruffled sea, to which they had been so long strangers.

Drake now directed his course for 30 deg. of south latitude, steering for the rendezvous appointed in case of separation of his little fleet; and, in his way touched at certain islands, where he found a supply of fowls. When he arrived at the wished-for latitude, he found neither ships nor convenient harbours: he therefore advanced to Macao, where the natives, making a show of friendship, and presenting the English with two sheep and fruits, and pointing to the watering place, the latter repaired there next day with their casks. The Indians, probably mistaking their visitors for Spaniards, by whom they had been cruelly used, laid in ambush, and killed two of the boat's crew

who were most advanced; and poured such a shower of arrows into the boat, that not one escaped unwounded. The admiral himself received an arrow under his eye; while owing to the unfavourable situation of the English, and the elements warring against them, not one of the natives was either killed or wounded in this conflict.

Without delay they proceeded for St. Philip's Bay, where the boat's crew having been sent on shore for discoveries, returned with an Indian prisoner, of graceful form and complacent behaviour. This man, after being well entertained, was again set on shore, and by his influence with his countrymen, a traffic commenced between them and the English. The same Indian afterwards was engaged as pilot, to conduct the fleet to the harbour of Val Parizo, near St. Jago, where the adventurers were liberally supplied with wine and provisions from the store houses; and besides, had the good fortune to capture a ship with sixty-thousand pesos of gold on board, exclusive of a valuable lading of wines. At first the Spaniards took them for their friends, and invited them to partake of their good cheer; but soon perceiving their mistake, instead of endeavouring to defend their property, the townsmen fled; while Drake found so much plunder in the place, as employed his party three days to carry it off.

The Indian being conveyed to his native shore and well rewarded, Drake next turned his attention to the building of a pinnace, to run up creeks and harbours; and for this purpose, fixed on a bay near Coquimbo. On arriving here, one hundred Spaniards on horseback came out to meet them: all the English prudently retired, save one, who obstinately persisted in staying on shore; and after a desperate defence, being slain by the Spaniards, his head was struck off in the sight of his countrymen, and displayed in insulting triumph.

This harbour being found unsafe, Drake discovered

another bay, where having erected his pinnace, he sailed to rejoin his companions; but was forced back by contrary winds. Landing afterwards at a port called Sarcipaxa, they discovered a Spaniard asleep, with bars of silver, to the amount of four thousand ducats, lying by him; which treasure they secured without disturbing the repose of its guardian.

The next exploit on this coast was unloading eight Peruvian sheep of their burdens of silver, each animal carrying about a hundred weight of that metal in leather bags, thrown across their backs. These sheep are the most valuable animals of the country; they not only supply food and raiment, but are the universal carriers over rocks and mountains, where no other beast could travel.

Proceeding further on, the English saw several Indian towns, the natives visited them in a new and extraordinary marine conveyance. This was two sealskins blown up with wind, on which the Indian seated himself, and then directed with much adroitness. Glass and toys found a ready exchange for the commodities of the country, and even some of the Spanish settlers appear to have carried on a kind of contraband trade with the English.

On the 7th of February 1579, they arrived at Arica, where they found three small vessels, on board of which were fifty-seven ingots of silver, each weighing about twenty pounds. The crews being all on shore, the English made an easy prize of the treasure; but though the town promised abundance of wealth, Drake did not venture to attack it, judging his numbers insufficient for the enterprise. He therefore sailed for Chili; and in his way boarded a vessel laden with linen and cloths, from which he took out such articles as he thought necessary, and then suffered her to depart.

An express had been dispatched from Arica, with news that Drake was on the coast, which arriving two hours before he reached the port, the master of a ship, that had three hundred thousand pesos on board, threw

it into the sea, and escaped with his crew on shore. Of this circumstance, and that he was discovered, and the natives on their guard, he was apprised by an Indian.

The admiral, thus disappointed in his hopes of taking the place by surprise, immediately sailed for Lima. Here he found a number of Spanish ships in the harbour, which made no resistance, though some of them were of considerable force, and most of them richly laden. Had any opposition been attempted, it must have brought destruction on Drake, to cope with such unequal numbers; but the Spaniards being taken by surprise, and intimidated by the extraordinary boldness of this adventurer, lost all their energies, and tamely saw him plunder their property.

But his success spurred him on to still greater attemps: being informed that the rich ship, the Cacafuego, had sailed three days before, to Paita, he resolved to pursue her; but finding that she had actually proceeded to Panama, he altered his course accordingly, and promised that the first man who spied her should be presented with his own gold chain, which reward was gained by his brother John. On the first of March they came up with this vessel, which struck after a slight resistance; when they found such a quantity of treasure, as employed them till the 6th in transporting on board the admiral's squadron. We are told, she contained an immense quantity of jewels, thirteen chests of money, eighty pounds of gold, and wrought plate to a great amount, exclusive of six tons of unrefined silver.

According to a Spanish writer, after the departure of the English for Lima, the governor fitted out three ships with cannon and two hundred men, which he ordered to pursue Drake; but that the time necessary for equipping them, gave the English an opportunity of falling in with the Cacafuego, the captain of which, seeing a ship in full sail after him, supposed she might be dispatched with some intelligence for him, and

therefore lay-to, to wait; nor did he discover his mistake, till it was too late to attempt an escape; and for defence he was not properly prepared, having no suspicion of an enemy to encounter.

The commander having dismissed the Spaniards, after exonerating them of their treasure, shaped his course to the westward; while the three Spanish ships, in pursuit of him, having missed him in the expected route, sailed with a view of intercepting him at the straits of Magellan. But fortune still favoured Drake; for, in his way he fell in with a ship from the West Indies, laden with China ware, silks, and cottons, and other oriental productions.

The owner being on board, wished to ransom the vessel, by presenting the admiral with a falcon of solid gold, having an emerald of extraordinary size and beauty on the breast, and a gold cup. To this Drake added four chests of porcelain, and then dismissed them.

Having put into a harbour on a small island, a coasting vessel was perceived passing by. Being brought to, the admiral took out of her a quantity of sarsaparilla, butter, and other goods. After refitting his own ship, and laying in wood and water, he again put to sea on the 26th of March. In the beginning of April, they gave chase to a ship which they had spied in the evening, and came up with her in the morning, before her crew was alarmed. From this vessel they supplied themselves with bale goods to a great amount. Among the passengers was don Francisco Xarate, who was charged with letters from the court of Spain to the governor of the Philippines, and had a set of sea-charts in his possession, which were very useful to the captors. A Spanish pilot was likewise taken out and detained, who conducted them safe to Anguatulco on the 13th of April.

As soon as they landed at this port, the admiral marched his men directly to the town, where the chief magistrates were then sitting in judgement on some

Indians accused of a conspiracy, for setting fire to the place. The fate of these wretches would have been fixed, had not the English so opportunely arrived, and made both the judges and the criminals alike their prisoners, and conducted them in triumph to the commander's ship.

The judge was now compelled to send a written order to the governor to surrender the town, from which the English brought away a very considerable quantity of valuable plunder; so that by this time the ships were almost full of treasure.

Fortune having so far befriended these lucky adventurers, they began to reflect that they had a fickle goddess to depend on; and being equally fearful of losing, as they were eager to enjoy what, with so much labour and risk, they had obtained, their thoughts were turned on their native land. Drake represented the necessity of first finding a convenient harbour, wherein they might refit; and expatiated on the honour, as well as the convenience, of discovering a nearer and a new passage to Europe, which he did not deem impracticable.

His influence and authority prevailed over the secret wishes of individuals, and they accordingly sailed into a port in the isle of Canes, where, taking in wood and water, they prepared to explore a north-west passage; but after sailing to latitude 43, the cold proved so intolerable to persons who had been so long habituated to a warmer climate, that the admiral was obliged to relinquish his project, and alter his course.

This disappointment, however, did not discourage Drake. He now resolved to execute his original design of steering for the Moluccas, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. In pursuance of this intention, they spread their sails to the northern winds, and on the 17th of June anchored in a commodious harbour in latitude 38 deg. 30 min. north.

Next day, a canoe navigated by a single person ap-

proached the ships, who seemed to make a kind of oration. He repeated his visits a second and a third time, and, at the conclusion of his last harangue, made a present of a crown of black feathers, and a basket filled with a kind of herb, for which he was averse to receive any return.

It was not, however, till the third day that the admiral ventured to bring his ships close to this friendly shore to refit. On landing, the English still questioning the sincerity of the natives, raised a fortification of earth, fenced with palisadoes, to secure the lading; and, while this work was proceeding, the Indians viewed their progress with admiration, but without showing the least jealousy. The admiral at length, convinced of their sincerity, having prevailed on them to lay aside their bows and arrows, presented them with some linen, and other articles, more curious though less valuable, which the natives received with the utmost demonstrations of gratitude.

Two days afterwards, their numbers being greatly increased, they stationed themselves on the top of a hill, and drawing the attention of the English by their voices and gestures, gave them the first idea that they meant to pay them a kind of religious veneration, according to the customs of the country. In this opinion Drake and his attendants were confirmed, by a long oration delivered by one of the Indians, at the end of which, all his countrymen bowed their heads, and repeated something like the syllable Oh, as expressive of their approbation. Then leaving their bows and arrows, they were conducted to the tents, and kindly received by the commander; while the women, who still remained at a distance, to survey the passing scene, began to tear themselves with their nails, and to fall prostrate on the ground, in token of reverence.

Soon after, two ambassadors arrived from the king, who demanded certain tokens of peace, which being complied with, his majesty paid a visit to the settlement. A person preceded him, bearing a mace of

black wood, ornamented with chains of horn or bone, which are distinctive of rank among them. The monarch came next, apparelled in skins, and wearing a beautiful crown of plumes curiously intermixed. A hundred very personable men served for his guard, who were habited in a nearly similar manner with the monarch; and the common people carried baskets of roots and fish.

Though this procession and their whole manner indicated nothing but peace, the admiral took the precaution of drawing up his men in order; while they approached; and when they stopped, the sceptre-bearer began a kind of song and dance, in which his countrymen joined; while the women silently accompanied them in the gestic exercise.

Every look, every gesture being calculated to remove suspicion of hostile intentions, they were at last admitted into the camp, where the dance and song were repeated; and, after another harangue, the purport of which seemed to be, to evince the desire the sovereign had to confer his kingdom on Drake, he was immediately crowned and invested with all the insignia of royalty; after which he was saluted with the title of hioh, or king. These ceremonies being ended, the admiral now transferred his sovereignty to Elizabeth, by taking possession in her name; while the common people tore their flesh in such a manner as to affect the feelings of the English. This voluntary laceration of the body, which has been practised among various savage nations, is meant to express the highest proof of respect and submission, and in some places it is used to demonstrate excess of grief.

Visits of friendship were repeated by the natives; and, in return for the confidence and generosity they displayed, Drake and some of his men made an excursion up the country, which they found naturally fertile, and well stocked with deer, and an animal of the rabbit kind. The habitations were holes dug to a convenient depth, and raised with rafters meeting in

the centre. The fire was kindled in the middle of the hut, and no aperture being left for the smoke, it escaped by the door. Rushes supplied these simple people for beds. The women wore a kind of petticoat formed of bullrushes; but the men in general were perfectly naked. All the useful arts, all the delicacies of life seemed to be unknown among them: they even caught fish with their hands; being either ignorant of the use of nets, or not wanting them, so dexterous had habit rendered them in seizing the finny race with their hands.

Though the acquisition of this territory was only valuable to Drake, by furnishing him with provisions and a safe resting-place, and could not be regarded as of much utility to his country; yet he seems to have plumed himself on the grant, and before his departure, caused the circumstances of the resignation to be engraven on a brass plate, and fixed up as a memorial of the transaction.

When the strangers were about to depart, the friendly natives expressed the liveliest sorrow. They kept them as long as possible in view from the hills, and lighted up fires, as if intended for sacrifices, which the English construed into the last and greatest mark of respect that could be paid them. Vanity, however, might have a share in some of these conclusions: however, when it is considered, with what esteem, verging on adoration, the Spaniards were first received by the Americans, we may in general give implicit credit to the account of the reception of our countrymen here. The admiral gave these acquired dominions the appellation of New Albion, from the white cliffs that environed the coasts.

It was on the 23d of July that they quitted these shores, and after touching at some of the neighbouring islands, it was resolved, in a general consultation, to sail for the Moluccas. Steering westerly, they did not come in sight of land till the 30th of September, when they discovered some islands in latitude 20 north, the

inhabitants of which at first came peaceably to exchange provisions for European commodities; but growing insolent from the mildness with which they were treated, Drake thought proper to give them an idea of his power, by ordering a discharge of his ordnance, which, without injuring any one, checked the progress of rude aggression.

On the 3d of November, our adventurers had the pleasure to espy the Moluccas, and their intention was to touch at Teridore. As they coasted along the island of Mutua, the viceroy of the king of Ternate paid them a visit; and recommended an application to his master for supplies, and not to the Portuguese, who were at enmity with him. This suggestion prevailed on the admiral to adopt the scheme, and he anchored before Ternate. Three large barges, in which was the viceroy, accompanied by several of the principal nobles, came out to conduct the vessel safe into port. The king likewise, after receiving a present of a velvet cloak in token of amity, came in great state, and was received under the discharge of cannon, while the music welcomed his approach. In testimony of his approbation, he invited the performers on board his own barge. Thus it appears, that it is not only among polished nations, that superior respect is paid to those who gratify the sense, rather than to those who are capable of improving the mind.

This prince had guards who were acquainted with the use of fire arms, though javelins, and bows and arrows were their principal weapons. He is described as a person of a majestic mien and graceful aspect. His attendants were dressed in cottons and calicoes, and some of them had a venerable appearance. When the ship came to an anchor, the king withdrew, having first given permission to his subjects to traffic with the strangers, and intimated that he should return in the space of two days. This promise, however, he did not perform, but sent his brother with an excuse. Drake having sent some gentlemen on shore, they

were conducted to the palace, and being introduced to court, found nearly one thousand people assembled. On each side of the exterior gate waited four interpreters of other countries. Among the courtiers were sixty privy councillors. When his majesty appeared, he was splendidly dressed in cloth of gold, and his hair was interwoven with golden ringlets: on his fingers he wore a profusion of diamond rings; and a chain of gold encircled his neck. Near his chair, stood a page with a fan set with sapphires, which he used to cool the air. In short, his majesty displayed abundant state, and received the English with marks of honour and respect.

While the admiral lay here, a Chinese, who reported himself to be descended from the imperial race, came on board. He acknowledged that he had been accused of some capital crime in his own country, and being unable to invalidate the charge by evidence, had been sentenced to exile; the term of which was to be extended till he could return with some intelligence that might be honourable or advantageous to the empire. After an absence of three years, the fame of Drake brought him from Tidore, in order to converse with a person who had visited so many countries. The English commander pitying his condition, and perhaps a little vain of the opportunity which was given him of spreading his reputation, ordered one of the company to recite twice over, those occurrences which were most remarkable in the course of the voyage. The exile having heard the detail, thanked Heaven that he had met with so much information; and departed well satisfied, that he should be honourably received in China, where he wished to persuade the admiral to accompany him.

Having shipped between four and five tons of cloves, they sailed from Ternate on the 9th of November, and bending to the southward, put into an uninhabited island, which was pleasant and full of woods, and abounded in that curious insect, the fire-fly. Here

they refitted the ships, a task now become absolutely necessary, and refreshed themselves with fruits and tortoises.

On this island they had the inhumanity to leave a male and female negro, whom they had taken out of one of the Spanish prizes. The poor girl was about fifteen years of age, and had become pregnant by Drake or one of his company. These unfortunate beings they contrived to send up the country on some pretended errand, and weighing anchor while they were gone, left them to their fate. It is impossible to pass over an incident of this kind without reprobating such unfeeling conduct, either in our own countrymen or foreigners. It is our wish to mend, not to corrupt the heart; and whenever our province obliges us to give recitals or anecdotes disgraceful to human nature, it shall be our study to reprehend, while we record.

In his course Drake fell in with a number of islands, whose names are not preserved; and just when he thought himself disentangled from the dangers of such a navigation, the ship struck on a hidden rock in the night. This shock was felt the more severely, as it was little expected. When the crew perceived their situation, murmurs began to arise among them; and the commander was exposed to some virulent invectives. Fletcher, the chaplain, in particular, tartly observed, that the men were likely to suffer for the crimes of their captain; a reflection which seemed to wound Drake severely; but knowing this was not a time to show his resentment, he dissembled his rage, and strove to conciliate the minds of his people, by exerting himself to the utmost to surmount the danger. As the vessel was not bulged, he endeavoured to light her, by causing the guns and watercasks to be thrown overboard, and having recourse to the pump, found the water did not gain upon them. He now wished to bring the ship to an anchor; but the rock rising perpendicularly in the middle of the sea, he could find no place proper to fix one. This difficulty, however, he

endeavoured to conceal, lest it should dispirit others; but, after sticking fast for twenty-four hours, he began to lose all hopes of deliverance; and exhorted his men to forget all animosities, and to prepare for the worst event. While they remained in this deplorable situation, the chaplain administered the sacrament to them all, and thus confirmed their reconciliation.

But Providence yet favoured Drake. When every ray of hope was gone, the wind suddenly shifted, and blowing fresh from a different quarter, heaved the ship off the rock, without any very considerable damage.

Thus liberated from their perilous situation, they proceeded with slow circumspection till they reached the island of Baratene, where they repaired the damage, and were hospitably received by the prince and his people. They found the natives at once warlike, social, and happy among themselves, as well as indulgent to strangers.

Departing from thence, they proceeded to Java, where the king entertained Drake on shore, and gave him liberty to furnish himself with whatever supplies his dominions afforded. Having now prepared for the further prosecution of his voyage, Drake had the mortification to find his men mutinous for an immediate return home, while it seems his own views were different.

Forced from imminent danger, the admiral now thought he might suffer his dormant resentment against Fletcher, the chaplain, to appear. On pretence of his spiriting up the crew to opposition, he caused him to be fastened with a chain by one of his legs in the forecastle of the ship. Amidst his vengeance, as we have seen in the case of Doughty, he always preserved some forms of external justice. After the divine was secured, he called the company together, and expatiating on his crime, he thus addressed him: "Francis Fletcher, I do hereby excommunicate thee out of the church of God, and from all the benefits and graces thereof, and I renounce thee to the devil and all his

angels." After this curious form, which would have better suited the character of a monk, he charged Flecther, on pain of death, not once to come before the mast, and swore if he did that he should be hanged. Not satisfied with this, he ordered a posey to be written and bound round his arm, containing these words, "Francis Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth," and assured him that it would be capital to tear it off.

After all, the admiral found himself compelled to comply with the desires of his people, and steering for the Cape of Good Hope, and doubling it on the 15th of June, arrived at Sierra Leona, without experiencing any of those dangers which had been generally supposed to attend this navigation, and which it was found the Portuguese had exaggerated to promote their own interest.

After staying two days at Sierra Leona, they again spread their sails to favouring gales; and, after a prosperous voyage, fell in with the Island of Ferrara on the 11th of September, and from thence proceeded in a direct course for England, with impatience to behold their native land.

They entered Plymouth harbour on Monday September 26, 1580; but, according to their calculation, it was on Sunday. The losing or gaining of a day, according to the course steered in the circumnavigation of the globe, is now sufficiently accounted for. Drake had spent two years ten months and a few days in this novel undertaking; and had the felicity of returning with immense riches, and a fame the most exalted for his enterprise.

The news of his arrival was soon blazoned through the kingdom, and as it was an age in which heroic deeds challenged admiration and regard, his reputation was raised to a very high pitch; and such as affected to distinguish themselves as the patrons of arms and arts, were eager to show him testimonies of their favour.

It could not however be expected, that so bold an

enterprise, attended with such unbounded applause, should pass without the customary tax of censure, and that some should be found anxious to depreciate his labours. Such gave out, that his surrounding the globe served only to amuse common minds, and that the main business he had in view was plunder, of which they said he had obtained enough to exempt the nation from taxes for seven years; that as this nation was not actually at war with Spain, it was dangerous to countenance such an adventurer, since the public might be obliged to pay dear for his captures; that our merchants had much property in Spain, and that it was reasonable to fear, that a confiscation might take place equivalent to his depredations. These objections, originating as much from envy as patriotism, made an impression on many. The Spanish ambassador also attacked Drake by spirited memorials, in which he was styled "the Master Thief of the unknown World."

The friends and patrons of the admiral, however, finding themselves wounded through his sides, took ample pains to vindicate his conduct; alleging in his behalf, that he had the queen's commission to justify his making reprisals; that the more wealth he had brought home, the more the nation was indebted to him; that the Spaniards by their injuries had provoked this aggression; and that even in case of confiscation, means of retaliation might be found, or the Indian treasure would be an equivalent.

Such were the reasonings on both sides, while matters remained in suspense; for the queen prudently seemed to listen to contending sentiments, before she divulged her own.

In this situation of uncertainty things remained for a considerable time; during which it is highly probable Drake felt much anxiety, lest after all his toils abroad, he might be declared a pirate at home. There is, however, reason to believe that Elizabeth delayed a disclosure of her sentiments from motives of true policy, that she might see what effect this transaction might

have on the court of Spain; and to prevent an actual rupture, she even consented to part with some small sums to Mendoza, the Spanish agent.

At last, when matters were sufficiently ripe for an avowal, the queen threw off the veil at once; and notice having been given of her intention, on the 4th of April, 1581, she went on board the admiral's ship at Deptford, where she was magnificently entertained; and after dinner, was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Drake, telling him, at the same time, that his actions did him more honour than his title. A prodigious crowd attended her majesty on this occasion, so that the bridge from the shore to the ship, was broken down by the time she got on board, and two hundred persons were precipitated into the Thames, of which not one was lost or hurt; which the queen ascribed to the good fortune of the admiral.

After this public approbation of the sovereign, all ranks became zealous to testify their congratulations; and sir Francis Drake took for his device the terraqueous globe, and to his usual motto DIVINO AUXILIO, added TU PRIMUS CIRCUMDEDISTI ME.

His ship was preserved many years at Deptford as a singular curiosity; and when almost entirely decayed, a chair was made out of its materials and presented to the University of Oxford, where it is still to be seen.

With regard to the quantity of treasure obtained in this successful attempt, a Spanish writer, Lopez Vaz, has thus stated it. He says that Drake carried from the coast of Peru eight hundred and sixty-six thousand pesos of silver, equal to eight hundred and sixty-six quintals, every quintal containing one hundred weight, and amounting in the whole to one million one hundred and thirty-nine thousand two hundred ducats. He also obtained one hundred thousand pesos of gold, equal to fifteen thousand ducats, exclusive of unregistered gold and silver, pearls, precious stones, and coined money, besides merchandise of immense value.

According to this relation, the silver amounted to

two hundred-and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, and the gold to forty-eight thousand. But other accounts make the value of the cargo brought home in Drake's ship equivalent to eight hundred thousand pounds; though only eighty thousand were divided among the crew. With regard to the distribution of the rest we pretend not to judge; but it is fair to conclude, with the old maxim, that whoever brings money, brings a welcome with him.

After the death of Magellan, the circumnavigation of the globe had been several times attempted, but in vain. Loss and disaster prevented the most enterprising from finally succeeding. Drake, therefore, deserves a high degree of honour for his achievement; nor is his praise thus far disputed by rival nations.

Having accompanied this hero round the world, we will not disappoint the inquisitive reader, by dropping the curtain on his future labours. As we began with his life, we shall finish with his death.

In 1585, he was again called into action, as commander in chief on an expedition to the West Indies; when St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine were taken. Two years after, he was sent to Lisbon; but receiving information that the Spaniards were assembling a fleet at Cadiz, on purpose to invade England, he sailed into the enemy's port, and burned ten thousand tons of shipping, exclusive of all their warlike stores; a blow which was severely felt by that nation.

Repeated successes gave rise to proportionate honours. In 1588, he was advanced to be vice-admiral under lord Effingham Howard, and distinguished himself against the Spanish Armada, in such a manner as will ever challenge admiration. Here general history records the triumphs of our country, and we will not enter into the details, however glorious.

The very name of Drake was now become formidable to the Spaniards, and the queen, finding him possessed of a spirit in some measure congenial to her

own, soon after dispatched him with a squadron destined to place don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. Sir John Norris and the earl of Essex were also partners in this undertaking. Arriving at Panicha, a little town in Portugal, it was taken and put into the possession of don Antonio, the pretender to the kingdom. From thence Norris marched to Lisbon without opposition, and encamping before it, took the suburbs of St. Catharine; but being disappointed in the expectation of Drake's supporting them in the Tagus, it was resolved in a council of war to retire. This resolution was taken, because there was little appearance that the Portuguese were inclined to put themselves under a new master. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus, met Drake, who proved the impossibility of an earlier support. He had taken the town of Cascaes, where the English blew up the castle, and seized sixty vessels laden with corn and all manner of naval stores belonging to the Hanse towns.

This expedition did some damage to the king of Spain, but was of little service to Elizabeth. Above six thousand men were lost; and the only recompense was an insignificant booty, which by no means repaid the expenses of equipment.

The sun of glory, which had hitherto shone in full lustre on sir Francis Drake, seemed now verging to a decline. Sir John Norris charged to his want of cooperation the failure of the enterprise; and perhaps he was ill qualified to act in concert with any one. His bold and original aims were only to be prosecuted successfully by himself.

Hawkins and Drake, however, seemed resolved not to abandon their design of distressing Spain, and enriching themselves. They set about equipping a large fleet, destined to act in the West Indies; but the Spaniards hearing of their intentions, threatened another invasion, which delayed the adventurers till the Plata fleet, on which they had a design, arrived in safety,

exclusive of one ship, which the queen advised them to attack in Puerto Rico.

After an ill-concerted attack on the Canaries, in which they miscarried, the fleet arrived on the 12th of November before Puerto Rico, and the officers having been convened in a council of war, an assault on the shipping in the harbour was resolved on. No impression could be made on the fortifications; and the English were obliged to abandon the design. While they lay here, sir John Hawkins died of a disorder; and the very same evening, while the officers were at supper, a cannon ball entering the cabin, killed sir Nicholas Clifford, and mortally wounded another gentleman, and carried away the stool on which sir Francis Drake sat, just as he was drinking success to the attack. Thus fortune now for the last time befriended him.

After committing various depredations, they proceeded on their grand design; and landing the soldiers, who were to cross the isthmus to Panama, after immense toil and fatigue, they had the mortification to find this too impracticable. "And now," says Fuller in quaint but energetic language, "began the discontent of sir Francis Drake to feed upon him. He saw all the good he had done in his voyage, consisted in the evil he had done to Spain, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions accompanying, if not causing the disease of the flux, wrought his sudden death; and sickness did not so much untie his clothes as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality asunder. He lived by the sea, died on it, and was buried in it. And thus," adds he, "we see how great spirits, having mounted to the highest pitch of performance, afterwards strain and break their credit in striving to go beyond it."

Disappointments such as Drake had experienced were not easily endured by a man habituated to success. He had perseverance and fortitude in danger; but his character was not without its defects.

Impatient of control, avaricious, and despotic, he was rather a great than an amiable man. Untinctured with the liberal arts, his mind yielded not to those weaknesses which are an honour to our kind; and he lived without seeming to enjoy life, unless when successful enterprise shed the casual gleam of satisfaction.

But Drake is only to be judged as a navigator and a hero. In the former quality he had no competitor in his own age; nor have modern times produced many superior to him. He passed the straits of Magellan in the shortest period ever yet done: he sailed on an unknown sea, guided by his own judgment, rather than by the assistance of others; for he could not have the benefit of charts, nor the guidance of any thing but the compass, whose variation not being well understood, created considerable difficulties.

Yet Drake surmounted every obstacle, and stands on record as one of the most able mariners that ever plowed the ocean. He died without issue near the town of Nombre de Dios, January 28, 1596.

VOYAGE OF

SIR JAMES LANCASTER

TO THE

EAST INDIES,

BEING THE FIRST ON ACCOUNT OF THE

ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THOUGH the English did not dazzle by their original discoveries, to their persevering labours the world and their country are indebted for unfolding that which was but imperfectly conceived, and finishing that which was only crudely begun. There are individuals as well as nations who possess the faculty of invention, but want the resolution to execute. The English have always, by slow but sure steps, approximated the object in view; and they have neither been seduced from their path by imposing probabilities of greater pleasure or profit, or deterred from the pursuit by the appearances of difficulty or danger.

The first person of this country who proposed the establishment of a trade to the east, was Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, who having resided several years at Seville, had obtained a complete knowledge of the history of the discoveries of the East and West Indies. This very intelligent and judicious gentleman, whose writings are still extant, appears to have combined extensive practice with rational theory; or, in other words, to have borrowed from experience as well as books. About the year 1527, he procured an introduction to Henry VIII. to whom he fully but briefly represented the infinite advantages

which his subjects would derive from a direct commerce with the East Indies; and to render his proposal more palatable to the aspiring genius and high spirit of that prince, he earnestly recommended it to him, not only to encourage this new navigation, but to attempt it by another route; adding, by way of explanation of his ideas, that as the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries to the east, and the Spaniards to the west, he was ambitious that the English should find a way of their own to the Indies, and that was by the north.

To the honour of Mr. Thorne's penetration, it should be remarked, that he was early aware of the insuperable difficulties which have since been found to obstruct a passage by the north-east; and therefore, on sound philosophical principles, proposed sailing directly north, or at least very nearly so; from which course he conjectured many inconveniencies might be avoided, and many advantages gained. As a foundation for this opinion, he conceived that the voyage might be undertaken at such a season of the year as to enjoy the benefit of a six months day in that climate; and he had no idea that the seas could be frozen under the pole, at a time when the sun by his long continuance above the horizon must have acquired a very active force. He likewise imagined, that whatever difficulties might attend the commencement of such an undertaking, they would gradually vanish; and be fully recompensed by a short and speedy navigation to the coasts of Tartary and Japan, from whence the course was open to the Indies.

In a word, if we consider the period when this proposal was made, and the sagacity and penetration this gentleman discovered, under the veil by which his subject was obscured, we shall find much to admire, and nothing to censure which human wisdom had then been able to ascertain.

But though this plan might have easily been put to the test of experiment, it was treated as an idle or an

ingenious project, too bold to be hazarded, too improbable to excite attention. Some years elapsed before any new lights were thrown on the subject; and indeed sir Francis Drake was the first who enlarged the conceptions of his countrymen, by extending the bounds of English navigation, in the year 1578. The very next year, a gentleman of the name of Stephens sailed from Lisbon to Goa, by the Cape of Good Hope, and favoured the public with a particular account of the voyage, in his native language, while he resided at Goa. This served to spirit up adventure; and the amazing advantages reaped by the Portuguese were a sufficient stimulus to minds not influenced by the love of novelty.

In 1586, Cavendish, by his voyage round the world, had given an additional confirmation to the truth of the reports of the east, now beginning to be in current circulation, and in consequence, captain George Raymond, in a vessel of his own, named the Penelope; the Merchant Royal, commanded by captain Clendell; and the Edward Bon-adventure, commanded by captain Lancaster, sailed on the 10th of April, 1591, from Plymouth for the East Indies; not so much with a view to traffic, as to cruize against the Portuguese. We will not enter into the detail of this voyage, because it is chiefly interesting, as being the first ever attempted by the English in that quarter. Raymond was extremely unfortunate. At the Cape of Good Hope, he was obliged to send home one of his ships, the Merchant Royal, with the sick men belonging to the squadron, which had increased to a melancholy degree, owing to the ravages of the scurvy. And after advancing about sixty leagues beyond the Cape, a violent storm overtook them, in which the admiral was lost with all his crew. The Bon-adventure, captain Lancaster, was in the most imminent danger; for after the tempest abated, a terrible peal of thunder burst over their heads, and of ninety-four persons on board, not one escaped without hurt, while several

were killed, others struck blind, and the mast was shattered by the lightning in the most extraordinary manner. Nor was captain Lancaster exempted from future calamities. After a disastrous voyage to the East, he was obliged to pass from thence to the West Indies, where, having lost his ship, with much difficulty, he obtained a passage home in a French privateer.

But though, in this interval, no English ships had been regularly sent to the East, for the purposes of commerce, numbers of individuals had visited it in different services; who, on their return home, gave such favourable accounts relative to the country, and the facility with which the English might establish a trade there, and settle factories, that many persons of rank, and eminent merchants, began to entertain a wish of realizing the prospects held out to them. Among the men of eminence who patronized this scheme, was Robert earl of Essex, who, it seems, employed a captain Davis for pushing discoveries in the Indies; and we have a journal of that officer's voyage addressed to his patron. Captain Davis sailed in a Dutch squadron from Flushing, on the 25th of March, 1598, and dates his relation on the 1st of August, 1600. The voyage in which he was engaged was by no means very successful; but as his object appears to have been to gain information, in this respect he acquitted himself probably to the satisfaction of his employer.

After these partial attempts, and collecting such a mass of intelligence as might enable the friends and supporters of an East India commerce to proceed further, application was made to queen Elizabeth for a charter. Her majesty, sensible of the policy of encouraging commercial adventure, granted the request. The first East India charter bears date the 31st of December, 1600, in the forty-third year of the reign of Elizabeth. It was rendered exclusive for the space of fifteen years; but with this saving proviso, that if, within that term, this charter should appear to be de-

trimental to the interests of the public, it should, upon two years notice given by the privy council, become void: but if from experience it should appear, that this new corporation was beneficial to the public, she, on the other hand, engaged to renew their grant, with such additional clauses in their favour as might be found requisite.

In consequence of this charter, the company immediately began to raise a joint stock for effectuating their intentions; and so favourable was the public to the undertaking, that in a very short space, the sum of seventy-two thousand pounds was subscribed. With this capital, it was resolved to fit out five strong ships to open an intercourse with the East. These were, the Dragon of six hundred tons and two hundred and two men, commanded by captain James Lancaster, who had already, as has been mentioned, sailed into those regions, and therefore was promoted to the rank of general, or admiral; the Hector, of three hundred tons, captain John Middleton, vice admiral; the Ascension of two hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-two men, captain William Brand; the Susan of two hundred and eighty tons, and eighty-four men, captain Hayward; and the Guest, of a hundred and thirty tons, which was equipped as a victualler.

In each of the four principal ships were three merchants, who were to succeed each other, in case of death; and provisions and stores were laid in for a voyage of twenty months. The merchandise and money on board amounted to twenty-seven thousand pounds; the rest of the subscription having been expended in the equipment of the fleet, and paying an advance to the mariners.

From this humble beginning, the greatest commercial company that ever the world saw has arisen; a company that in splendour and riches, in territory and force, may vie with kings and emperors; and whose power, at this moment sanctioned by the Bri-

tish government, gives laws to the remotest east, and turns the scale of victory, as it favours or opposes.

Queen Elizabeth gave the company letters of recommendation to several princes of India; and to prevent those dissensions and animosities, which are so fatal to all great enterprises, she invested the admiral with a commission of martial law.

The fleet being ready, sailed from Dartmouth on the 18th of April 1601, and putting into Torbay, the admiral sent his instructions to the different commanders, enjoining them to keep company at sea as far as possible; and in case of unavoidable separation, he appointed the places of rendezvous.

Proceeding for the Canaries, on the 5th of May they came in sight of Alegranza, the northernmost of these islands; but being frequently becalmed, and as often experiencing contrary winds, it was the 21st of June before they reached 2 deg. north. In this latitude, they fell in with a Portuguese ship; and as that country was then subject to Spain, with which the English were at war, they gave chase, and captured her. She proved a valuable prize, being laden with wine, oil, and meal, which were taken out and distributed among the ships of the squadron.

On the last day of June, they passed the equinoctial line; and some time after they unloaded the Guest victualler, which appeared unfit for the voyage; and securing her masts, sails, and yards, for occasional supplies, left her floating in the sea.

Having crossed the tropic of Capricorn, many of the crew began to fall sick, from the length of time they had been detained in such hot climates; and such was the progress of disease, that by the 1st of August, all the ships, except the general's, were so reduced in their crews, that they had barely enough who were able to handle the sails. In a short time the distress from sickness was so alarming, that the officers and merchants were obliged to take their turns in the duty

of the ships; but when they were reduced to the lowest ebb, a favourable wind springing up, soon carried them to Saldanna, where the Hector first came to an anchor. The general exerted himself to the utmost to get the different ships into port; and by transferring the healthy from the one to the other, all were at last secured.

The admiral's crew was by far the most complete, which entirely arose from his having some bottles of lemon juice on board, of which he gave three spoonfuls every morning fasting to his men as long as it lasted. The beneficial effects of this valuable antiseptic, it seems, were thus early known; but how much it is to be lamented, that though an easy remedy is in the power of all navigators, so little attention should still in general be paid to the preservation of the health of mariners in hot climates! Captain Cook has immortalized his name more by his humane and successful regard to the preservation of his men, than by all his labours and discoveries. Without health, the best-laid plans must be abortive, the utmost force can never prevail. Numbers indeed increase the calamity and aggravate the danger. In a country like this, where seamen are the bulwark of power, and the source of opulence, it cannot be too strongly impressed on the public mind, to prevent disease by every means which medical skill and long experience have pointed out as most salutary; and if this digression, which has in view the safety of a most useful body of men, should render their superiors and employers attentive to this benevolent aim, it will neither be written nor read in vain.

The admiral having by his care revived the drooping spirits of his men, and afforded them all the assistance which circumstances would permit, now went on shore; and falling in with some of the natives, he endeavoured to inspire them with confidence in their visitors, by a kind demeanour, and the distribution of some presents. He then took the most

ready way that we have ever known, of making a people, ignorant of his language, and with whom he could not converse by an interpreter, understand his meaning. He wanted a supply of cattle and sheep; and to make his wants understood he spoke in the language of the cattle themselves. He lowed like a cow; he baaed like a sheep: and, ludicrous as this may appear, the natives took the meaning at once.

Having dismissed his guests, well pleased with their presents and treatment, he gave orders that tents should be erected for the sick out of the sails; and that some temporary fortifications should be raised to defend them from any sudden attack, should the natives conceive any disgust against them, or alter their present apparent opinion. He further directed that when the inhabitants came down with their cattle, only five or six persons, to whom that charge was delegated, should advance to deal with them; and that a company, armed with muskets and pikes, should keep a proper distance, but to be in a state of preparation for any event. This prudent order being strictly observed, none could hold any intercourse with the natives without leave; and thus the harmony which subsisted between them suffered no interruption or diminution during their stay.

The third day after they landed, the people of the country brought down beef and mutton, which were purchased on the most moderate terms; but to the satisfaction of the sellers. For an ox, two pieces of eight were given, and for a sheep one. Hoops of iron, and other equally insignificant articles also formed the medium of exchange. In ten or twelve days, one thousand sheep and forty-two oxen were procured; and so well were the natives satisfied with the returns they got, that double the number might have been procured at that time. These oxen were large and very fat; and the sheep were exceedingly sweet and in good condition.

When as many animals had been purchased as it

was supposed would be wanting, the sheep were turned out to graze round the tents; and afterwards, when the English wished to increase their stock, the natives pointed to what they had bought; and probably began to apprehend that there was an intention of settling among them, as there could be no apparent cause for a larger supply, without some such design. This made them shy of renewing the traffic; but no misunderstanding arose on either side.

The men being now in a convalescent state, the admiral ordered the tents to be struck; and receiving on board a fresh supply of wood and water, he put to sea on the 29th of October, and fell in with the headland of Madagascar on the 26th of November. Plying to the eastward, the crew again began to fall sick of the scurvy; but on the 17th of December they came to an anchor between St. Mary's Island and Madagascar, where they found a very desirable supply of oranges and lemons.

The island of St. Mary is high and woody: the natives are of a dark complexion, and have negro hair and features. They were quite naked, except a small covering depending from the waist, and appeared warlike, yet not unsociable. Their principal food was rice and fish; yet the English could procure but a scanty supply of the former; for as the harvest was not quite ready, their stock seemed to be low. They obtained, however, some goats' milk; but only one cow was seen on the island, and she was driven away on the approach of the English. It being impossible to procure adequate refreshments here, and as the anchorage was unsafe, the admiral sailed for Antongil; and entering the bay, which was commodious, they were eager to land. On the rocks they found a writing, which gave them to understand, that five Dutch ships having lately touched there, had lost nearly two hundred men by sickness.

This intelligence naturally threw a damp on their spirits; but they hoped to be more fortunate than

their predecessors in the same station. The natives soon repaired to them, and by signs informed them, that the Dutch had purchased the greatest part of their stock of provisions. However, they entered into barter with the new comers, to whom they sold fowls, rice, and fruits; but at a high price. They appeared very dexterous and subtle at buying and selling; continually pleading for a trifle more than was offered; and if that was once complied with, they never lowered their terms.

Lancaster, perceiving this tricking disposition, ordered measures to be made, holding each about a quart, and fixed how many glass beads should be given in exchange for each. The like regulation was made in regard to fruits and plantains. The number to be given for every bead was fixed, and from this there was to be no deviation. The natives, after a little coquetry, finding there was no alternative, complied with the regulations; and from this time their dealings were frank, and there was neither cavilling nor dispute. Indeed, the admiral evinced a judgment, on a variety of occasions, which shows that those who had confided in him were not mistaken.

The English procured here a considerable quantity of rice, abundance of oranges, lemons, and plantains, eight cows, and some fowls. While they lay in the road, they set up a pinnace of eighteen tons, the materials of which they had on board. This vessel they found very serviceable in sounding, and in occasional errands to the shore, where larger vesels could not have been used without danger.

And now we have to record the mortality which awaited the English in this bay. Out of the Dragon, the master's mate, the chaplain, and the surgeon, with ten common men paid the debt of nature: out of the Hector, the master and two others. They all died of the flux, supposed to be occasioned by the insalubrity of the water. An unfortunate accident was superadded to this unavoidable loss. While the captain of

the Ascension was attending the funeral of the master's mate of the Dragon in his boat, the ship, as is customary, firing a farewell salute to their departed officer, the guns being charged with ball, one of them struck the Ascension's boat, and killed the captain and another. Thus the attendants of a funeral were themselves doomed to fill the same grave!

On the 6th of March, the fleet left this bay, and in ten days fell in with the Island of Roque Piz, in 10 deg. 30 min. south latitude. Here Lancaster endeavoured, in vain, to find a proper road: the water was too deep to allow safe anchorage. This island had a beautiful appearance; it was full of cocoas and other trees; and so numerous were the fowls, and so unacquainted with the depredations of man, that they fled round the ships, and were easily taken or killed. Their flesh proved fat, and excellent eating.

In a navigation where they had so little to guide them, they were several times in danger of rocks and shoals. At last they reached one of the Nicobar Isles, where they met with a few refreshments, but no water. The natives came on board in canoes, capable of holding twenty men each; bringing a kind of gum to barter with, which the English at first mistook for amber, and paid for accordingly.

On the 6th of June the admiral anchored in the road of Achen, in Sumatra, about two miles from the city, where they found nearly twenty ships of different eastern nations. Two Dutch merchants, who had been left to learn the language and manners of the country, soon paid their respects to Lancaster; and informed him, that the king, who was fond of strangers, would give them a hearty welcome; and that the fame of queen Elizabeth and her glorious victory over the Spaniards were already spread over the remotest parts of the east.

This information encouraged the admiral to dispatch captain Middleton and a few gentlemen to wait on the king, and to acquaint him that the commander of

the fleet just arrived had a message and a letter for him, from the most illustrious queen of England to the most renowned king of Achen and Sumatra. It was also requested, that his majesty would be pleased to signify if it was his royal pleasure to give the admiral an audience, and safe-conduct for himself and his attendants to deliver his letter and message.

Middleton was kindly entertained by the sovereign, who readily acquiesced in the demand he made; and asked him a number of questions. A splendid banquet was then prepared; and at his departure the captain was presented with a robe and calico turban, wrought with gold, as a special mark of royal favour. His majesty wished the admiral to repose himself one day after the fatigues of his voyage, and to receive an audience the next. With regard to security, he assured him that he could not be more safe in the dominions of his royal mistress.

In compliance with his majesty's intimations, the admiral landed with about thirty attendants, and was immediately met by the Dutch merchants, who conducted him to their house, as he did not choose to engage one of his own till after an interview with the king. Soon after, one of the grandees arriving, demanded the queen's letter; but the admiral declined to deliver it, observing, that it was the practice in Europe for ambassadors to deliver the letters of those they represented to the sovereign himself, and not to his ministers. The grandee then requested a sight of the superscription, which he copied; and having attentively examined the seal courteously took his leave, to report what had passed.

Soon after his departure, the king of Achen sent six elephants, with trumpets, drums, and streamers, and a considerable body of men, to attend the admiral to court. The largest of the elephants was about thirteen or fourteen feet high, and carried a small tower on his back, in the form of a coach, covered with crimson velvet. In the middle of this

erection was a gold bason, covered with richly embroidered silk, and into this vessel the queen's letter was put. The admiral was then mounted on another elephant, while some of his retinue rode, and others walked on foot. On coming to the palace gate he was stopped, till his majesty's further pleasure should be known; but in a few minutes the English ambassador was desired to enter. When the admiral approached the royal presence, he paid his respects in the manner of the country, and then briefly declared, that he was sent by the most potent queen of England, to congratulate his highness, and to enter into a treaty of peace and amity with his majesty. As he was proceeding in his harangue, the king interrupted and relieved him, by replying in words to the following purport: "I am sure you are weary with the long "voyage you have taken, and wish you to sit down "and refresh yourself: you are very welcome, and "shall obtain whatever you can in reason demand for "the sake of your queen; for she is worthy of all fa-"vour, since fame represents her as a princess of a "noble disposition."

The admiral now produced the queen's letter, which he tendered to his majesty, who, on receiving it, handed it to a nobleman in waiting. The admiral next offered the presents: a silver bason, with a fountain in the middle, weighing two hundred and five ounces; a large silver cup; a rich mirror; a case of very elegant daggers; a rich embroidered belt; and a fan of feathers. These were intrusted to a nobleman; only the king took the fan in his own hand, and was pleased to have his women use it to cool him.

Lancaster now seated himself in the eastern style, when a sumptuous banquet was served up. All the dishes were of pure gold, or of a mixture of brass and gold, not less esteemed than the pure metal. During this banquet the king, who was elevated a few feet from the ground, drank several times to the admiral, in arrack; but the English representative finding the

potency of this liquor, after one draught confined himself to a mixture with water.

The feast at an end, his majesty sent for some singing and dancing girls, and ordered his women to accompany them with music. These women were very richly dressed, and ornamented with bracelets and jewels. To suffer them to appear was a signal honour; and is conferred on such only as the king wishes to distinguish.

His majesty then presented the admiral with a fine white calico robe, richly embroidered with gold; a beautiful Turkey-leather girdle; and two crosses, which are particular kinds of daggers; all which a grandee put on for him in the presence of the king. With these tokens of regard and consideration he was dismissed; and a guide was nominated to conduct him round the town, and assist him in engaging a house to his mind. This last favour he declined, preferring to lodge on ship-board.

The next audience that Lancaster had, his majesty entered into the particulars of the queen's letter, with which he seemed much delighted. He professed his desire of cementing a good understanding with the queen of England by means of a treaty; and in regard to trade, he observed, that he had given his commands to two of his nobles, to confer with the admiral on the subject; and that her majesty's wishes in this respect should be gratified.

Another banquet followed this very satisfactory interview; and the next day the two ministers, who were appointed to transact the commercial negotiation, were requested by the admiral to fix a time for their conference. One of these delegates was the high-priest of Achen, a man whose conduct had merited him the highest esteem, both of prince and people; the other belonged to the ancient nobility, and was a person of a grave and serious deportment, but less qualified for the transaction of business than his associate.

The time of meeting being agreed on, the confe-

rence took place in Arabic, which both the ministers understood; and a Jew, whom the admiral had brought with him from England, being well versed in that tongue, acted as interpreter. Lancaster having made some preliminary demands relative to the privileges the merchants were to enjoy, the high-priest requested, first, to hear the reasons which he supposed would justify the king in granting the favours asked. On this the admiral expatiated on the advantages of the queen's affection and friendship, and her zeal in protecting others from the king of Spain, the common foe of the east; and that, independent of the personal regard due to his mistress, it was the private interest of the king of Achen to accede to the offers of a commercial intercourse; for that sovereigns acquired glory and power, in proportion to the wealth of their subjects, which was most rapidly advanced by trade; and that the more kindly strangers were entertained, the more commerce flourished, to the emolument both of king and people. That with regard to Achen, in particular, the port lay well to become the emporium of the east. In this event, as the king's power would increase, so the trade of the Portuguese, and their usurpations in the Indies, would gradually diminish. It was further represented, that in case his majesty should have occasion to employ artificers, he might be provided with them from England, on paying for their voyage out, and allowing them free liberty of egress and regress; and, in fine, that any other necessary England afforded, should be at his majesty's service; presuming that he would not make any requisitions incompatible with the queen's dignity, the laws of the kingdom, and her leagues with Christian princes.

Business having proceeded thus far, the high-priest desired the admiral to favour him with a written memorandum of the privileges he demanded in the queen's name, and the reasons on which his request was founded; telling him, that within a few days he

should receive the king's answer. They then discoursed some time on the general politics of Europe, after which the admiral took his leave.

Lancaster was careful to send a copy of his demands as desired; and the next time he attended court, he found the king engaged in cock-fighting, which it seems was his favourite diversion. The admiral, however, sent his interpreter to remind his majesty of the business about which he had conferred with his nobles. On this the king beckoned the admiral to approach, and signified that he was ready to enter into a treaty of peace with the queen of England; and that, as for the articles specified in writing, they should be fairly transcribed by one of his secretaries, and authenticated by himself. Accordingly, the instrument, a few days after, was delivered by the king's own hand to Lancaster, with many expressions of congratulation and respect.

It may be entertaining to review the first foundation of our privileges in India. The substance of the articles sanctioned by the king of Achen were: That the English should have free liberty and trade. That their goods should be exempted from customs, whether imported or exported. That they should receive prompt assistance fram the subjects and ships of Achen, in any case of danger. That they should have liberty to make wills, and bequeath their effects according to their free pleasure. That all bargains should be confirmed, and orders granted for payment, by the subjects of Achen. That they should have authority to execute justice on their own men. That his majesty should do them justice against the natives, for injuries done them. That their goods should neither be stopped, nor prices affixed on them. And lastly, that they should be allowed liberty of conscience.

Their rights being thus confirmed on the solid basis of reason and reciprocal advantage, the merchants next set about providing pepper to lade their ships; but from the sterility of last year, there was found but a

very limited supply. However, they received information that one vessel might be supplied with a cargo at Priaman, a port about one hundred and fifty leagues distance; and thither the admiral sent the Susan, under the conduct of captain Henry Middleton.

On investigating the nature of the trade in this country, and the price of commodities, Lancaster was not a little embarrassed to find that the report of captain John Davis, the principal pilot, to the merchants of London, in regard to the purchase of pepper, was infinitely wide of the truth. He had stated, that one hundred weight of pepper might be purchased here for four rials of eight; whereas the admiral could not procure it much under twenty. On this account he was perplexed how to lade the ships, so as to save his own credit, preserve the esteem of his employers, and keep up the reputation of his country; reflecting, that it would appear disgraceful in the eyes of neighbouring nations to return empty from the Indies. Besides, the Portuguese ambassador watched every motion with a jealous eye; and would have been happy to disappoint the expectations of the English adventurers. Fortunately, this gentleman was not very acceptable to the king; for the last time he was at court, he had pressed his majesty for leave to settle a factory, and to erect a fort at the entrance of the harbour, on pretence of securing the property of his nation from fire. On this the king sarcastically asked him, If his master had a daughter to give his son, that he was so anxious about the protection of his country? adding, that the expense of building a fort was unnecessary, since he would furnish him with a proper house in the country for a factory, at the distance of two leagues from the shore, where they might live unmolested by enemies and safe from fire, as it should be his business to protect them.

This shrewd reply much chagrined the Portuguese ambassador; and, on the other hand, his majesty felt some resentment at the insolence of the demand.

But, though the ambassador was foiled in his aims, he did not desist from his designs, either in favour of his own country, or in opposition to the English. To watch the admiral's proceedings, he employed an Indian in the service of the Portuguese, to resort backwards and forwards to his house, on pretence of selling provisions. The admiral, knowing the connections of this man, soon suspected him for a spy; however, he gave orders that he should be well used, that the fowls in which he dealt should be purchased at a handsome price; aware, that he who is mean enough to accept a bribe, will, for a higher one, abandon his first corrupter.

At last, Lancaster throwing himself in the way of the Indian, took occasion to ask him whence he came, and to what country he belonged; and, with some difficulty and address, brought him to acknowledge that he was employed by the Portuguese ambassador, to procure intelligence respecting the English, and the strength of their ships, which his excellency meant to dispatch to Malacca, in order to procure a force sufficient to attack them. The admiral finding him so far communicative, promised him his liberty and other rewards, on condition that he furnished him, from time to time, with intelligence of the ambassador's proceedings.

The glow of satisfaction which lighted the Indian's face, and the quickness of his step, indicated the pleasure he felt from the prospects set before him. He managed the concern with great dexterity and caution; and, though he regularly communicated what fell under his observation at the Portuguese ambassador's, he was neither suspected of treachery by him, nor regarded as a friend by any of the English, save the admiral himself.

When Lancaster next paid his respects at court, the king entered into a conversation with him respecting an embassy he had received from the king of Siam relative to the conquest of Malacca, and his requested co-

operation, The admiral encouraged this idea by many cogent arguments, and inveighed against the insolence of the Porttguese ambassador, whom he represented in no other light than a spy. The king said he was sensible the Portuguese were inimical to him; but was surprised that the English should know it. Lancaster replied, that the Portuguese envoy had surrounded him too with spies; and that he intended to procure a force from Malacca to attack him by surprise. On this the king, smiling, observed, that he need be under no alarm of danger from that quarter, as there was not strength sufficient at Malacca to molest him. To this remark the admiral rejoined, that he was not apprehensive of any attempts against himself; but that if the intelligence were forwarded to Malacca, it would prevent him from being able to attack the Portuguese, as they would not venture out of their ports; and therefore, he requested his majesty would be pleased to detain some of the ambassador's servants, who were about to depart from another port with advices to Malacca. This his majesty promised to do.

The ambassador's messengers setting out, as was expected, with draughts of the English ships and their master's letters, thought to escape observation, by retiring to a port about twenty-five leagues from Achen; where, having agreed for their passage, they embarked. But just as they were leaving the harbour, they were pursued by a frigate, the commander of which insisted on examining their lading. Finding the two Portuguese messengers on board, he sternly interrogated them whence they came, and whither they were going. They gave an unvarnished account of themselves and their destination, as far as they knew the purport of it; but the officer boldly challenged them with having robbed their master, and therefore they must be sent back to answer for themselves. In the confusion of this detention, they lost their draughts and letters; their trunks were also broke open, and themselves sent bound to the ambassador at Achen.

This manœuvre shows that his Achenese majesty was not deficient in political craft, an art which an honest mind disdains, and a bad mind cannot always practise with success. It may be sometimes necessary; but it never can be honourable.

The summer being now pretty far advanced, it was time for Lancaster to put to sea; but at the very moment when he meditated this, he was informed that the ambassador had obtained leave of departure from the king. On this, he attended court, and requested the honour of an audience, which being granted, the king demanded his errand. The admiral, after making general acknowledgments of his majesty's beneficence, said he was emboldened to ask one favour more, which was, that he would detain the Portuguese ambassador, who he understood was about to take leave, for the space of ten days, that he might be able to sail before him, and anticipate his schemes. The king promised he would indulge him in this too; but, as a recompense, he desired he would bring him a Portuguese maiden on his return to Achen.

The admiral now took leave; and three ships being ready, it was resolved immediately to set sail. The captain of a Dutch vessel, of about two hundred tons, which lay in the roads, offered to take a part in the adventure. To this the admiral agreed, and promised him an eighth of the value of the captures. Meanwhile the Ascension was to stay at Achen to complete her lading.

After the departure of the English, the Portuguese ambassador showed much uneasiness, and a wish to be gone; but the king, on various pretexts, refused signing his passport for more than three weeks, and even then expressed his wonder that he should be in such haste, since the English commander was at sea, who, being strongest, might do him an injury if they should meet. Nettled at this pointed reflection, the ambassador replied that he depended on the swiftness of his vessel, and defied all the force of the English. The

king, apparently satisfied of his safety and reconciled to his departure, granted him his dispatch.

Cruising near the Straits of Malacca, on the 3d of October the Hector observed a sail, on which directions were given to extend the line, lest she should escape them in the dark. The Hector at length came up with her; and after a short engagement she struck. This vessel proved to be of nine hundred tons burthen, and was bound from the Bay of Bengal for Malacca. She had more than six hundred persons on board, men, women, and children. Her cargo consisted of nine hundred and fifty packs of calicoes and pintadoes, a great quantity of rice, and other valuable commodities. The best part of the lading being taken out and transferred on board the English ships, as a storm was arising, the admiral returned the ship to her commander, and sent all her men on board.

The admiral again visited the port of Achen, where he found the merchants highly satisfied with the king's behaviour to them during his absence. As a testimony of his gratitude, the admiral therefore selected such of the prize goods as he imagined would be more particularly acceptable to his majesty, and presented them at his first audience at court. The king received this mark of Lancaster's homage, and expressed the pleasure he felt at his success against the Portuguese; but, in a good-humoured way, he told the admiral he had forgot the Portuguese maid, the most important business he had recommended to his care. Lancaster apologized for this neglect, by observing, that he had met with none worthy of the distinguished honour of being introduced to his majesty.

All the spices to be procured here being scarcely sufficient to complete the lading of the Ascension, and as no more could be expected till next year, the admiral determined to sail for Bantam, where he was informed he should find a good vent for his commodities, and pepper at a cheaper rate than at Achen.

But before his departure he waited on his majesty, with whom he had a long conference, and from whom

he received an Arabic letter for Elizabeth; to be accompanied with a present of three pieces of cloth of gold, and a ring set with a ruby of the finest lustre. The admiral was likewise presented with a ruby ring.

A curious circumstance happened as Lancaster was about to take leave. We have seen that the king of Achen was not deficient in wit, but of his religion we have said nothing. As the admiral was going from court, he asked him if the English had the Psalms of David among them? To which he answered, that they had, and sang them daily. Then, said the king, I and my nobles will sing a psalm to God for your prosperity. On this, they struck up, to the astonishment of the English who were present. Having finished the staves, the king in his turn requested the admiral and his party would favour him with a psalm in their language, which desire was immediately complied with.

This done, they parted, his majesty giving them his benediction, and wishing them success and a safe return to their own country; adding, that the English should always meet with the same kind reception, that they had hitherto experienced.

On the 9th of November they left Achen, the admiral dispatching the Ascension for England direct, with letters; while the rest of the squadron proceeded to Bantam. On arriving at Priaman, where the Susan had been sent to take in a lading, they found she had procured six hundred bahars of pepper, and sixty-six of cloves. Here pepper was cheaper than at Achen, though none grew in the vicinity of the town, but was brought down, at the distance of eight or ten leagues, from the country. Priaman, indeed, produced no other commodity than gold dust, which was separated from the sands of the river. It was, however, a place well adapted for refreshment; and, though within a few minutes of the line, the air was pleasant and salubrious.

The admiral having taken in provisions, and left

orders for the captain of the Susan to hasten her lading, and then depart for England, sailed on the 4th of November towards Bantam. On the 15th he made the Straits of Sunda, and next day anchored at Bantam. He now dispatched captain Middleton to acquaint the king that he was arrived there by order of the queen of England, from whom he brought a letter and a message; and requested that his majesty would allow him a safe-conduct.

The king answered, that he was glad of his coming; and immediately commissioned one of his nobles to accompany Middleton to the ships, and bring the admiral back with him. Lancaster, being introduced at court, found the king was a child of ten or eleven years of age, sitting surrounded by his nobles. The admiral paid his respects in the usual mode of the country, on which the king bid him welcome; and after some discourse, the queen's letter was produced and delivered to his majesty, together with the intended presents. These were received with apparent pleasure; and, on matters of business, the admiral was referred to one of the nobles, who then acted in capacity of protector.

After some time spent in promiscuous conversation, the protector invited Lancaster to land his men, assuring them that they might buy and sell in perfect security, and without the least fear of molestation.

So quick was the supply of pepper, that by the 10th of February 1603, the ships were fully laden and ready for sea. In the mean while, captain Middleton of the Hector, a man of tried courage and conduct, fell sick; and departed this life after a short illness, to the great regret of the whole fleet.

Lancaster, on the eve of departure from Bantam, ordered the pinnace to be laden with commodities, and putting twelve men on board her, with some merchants, sent her to trade, and establish a factory at the Moluccas. At Bantam he left eight men and three factors, to sell the goods left in store, and to provide

a lading for future ships. Then, going to court, he received a letter and presents for queen Elizabeth. The latter chiefly consisted of Bezoar stones; one of which was reserved for his own acceptance, together with a Java dagger. Thus matters ended prosperously in the Indies; and owing to the humane and prudent conduct of Lancaster, we find none of that jealousy and misunderstanding which attended the first efforts of the Portuguese to establish themselves in the East.

But now their prospects began to grow dark, when the thoughts of returning to their native land must have inspired every breast with pleasure. On the 20th of February they left Bantam, and, after encountering a succession of storms, on the 3d of May the sea beat with such violence on the quarter of the admiral's ship as to loosen the iron-work of the rudder, which next morning fell off and sunk. The terror and consternation of the crew was now at the greatest height; the most skilful mariners confessed their ignorance of the means of retrieving this misfortune, and the less experienced stood aghast. In this tempestuous sea, the ship now drove up and down like a wreck with the winds and waves: she was sometimes within a few leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, sometimes she was forced into the icy latitudes of the south, where cold increased the calamity they could not remove. Amid all these changes of situation, the Hector assiduously attended the admiral, ready to administer all the assistance in their power, and seeming to participate in the admiral's misfortune from a real affection for his person. Of so much consequence it is for a superior, on any reverse of fortune, to be beloved! That kind attention which is shown to the unfortunate, is a thousand times more grateful than the supple complaisance which power can command, even in its happiest hours.

After trying a variety of expedients to extricate themselves from this deplorable condition, they were convinced that unless they could make and hang a new

rudder, they must perish in these stormy seas. How to perform this task, in such a dangerous part of the ocean, they were at a loss to know; but necessity, the mother of invention, obliged them to try all possible means. At last a rudder was formed out of the mizen-mast, and with the greatest difficulty was fastened on to the irons which the shock had left.

This being accomplished, they proceeded on their course for a few hours, when a heavy sea again took it off, with the loss of another iron; and the rudder itself had nearly sunk. Despair now appeared in its most hideous form, and the men became impatient to quit the ship, and go on board the Hector; but this the admiral opposed by every argument in his power; and with a composure which marks him as one of the greatest men that ever was employed on such an enterprise, he retired to his cabin, and wrote a letter to his employers expressive of his forlorn situation, which he ordered the Hector to carry, and to leave him to his fate. This he studiously concealed from his men, lest the disappointment of their views might have rendered them desperate.

This letter and his instructions being conveyed on board the Hector, the admiral expected she would have made sail from them in the night, but on the morrow he found her still in sight, and she never got more a-head than two or three leagues. The captain, from a sincere regard to the admiral, could not support the thought of leaving him in such distress; and while he seemed to comply with his desires, in keeping at a distance, he was unwilling to abandon him while a hope remained of his being useful.

At last, despair gave new resolution, and the weather seemed to grow milder for their preservation. The rudder was again repaired; and the sea being smooth, with a prospect of their being able to proceed, the admiral made a signal to the Hector to join, and by the assistance of her crew the helm was so

well secured, that they began to entertain hopes of being able to reach a port.

Perceiving that they had sailed to a higher latitude than the Cape of Good Hope, they directed their course for the island of St. Helena, which, to the inexpressible joy of the whole fleet, they reached on the 16th of June. On landing, they recognized many writings, by which they understood that the Carracks had left this place only eight days before. While they staid here, they repaired the ships; and, by a due attention to the health of the sick, and the help of such refreshments as the island supplied, they soon began to recover. Indeed, they had been reduced to the last distress in every respect, as they had been beating in the ocean without a sight of land for the tedious space of three months.

On the 5th of July they again set sail; and steering north-west, passed the isle of Ascension, a barren spot, destitute of inhabitants, water, and safe anchorage, but having its shores prolific in fish.

On the 19th they crossed the line, and in ten days had a sight of the island of Fuego. Here they were becalmed for five days, and afterwards met with contrary winds. However, on the 7th of September they came into soundings in the Channel, and without any further accident anchored safe in the Downs.

Such was the conclusion of the first voyage of the English to the East Indies, under the sanction of a charter; and, from a review of the whole, we may affirm that the conduct of the principals in the expedition was honourable to themselves and their country. No steps seem to have been taken, no design formed, of encroaching on the rights of the natives: the pursuit of trade was the only object; and happy would it have been for the nations of Europe, if they could have been satisfied with the profits of a fair traffic, and never been misled by the *ignis fatuus* of conquest!

VOYAGE OF

SIR HENRY MIDDLETON

TO THE

RED SEA AND SURAT.

THE name of Middleton is distinguished among the early voyages to the East. In the present unfortunate expedition three ships were employed: the Trade's Increase, of one thousand tons, sir Henry Middleton admiral; the Pepper Corn, of two hundred and fifty tons, Nicholas Dounton, commander; and the Darling, of ninety tons. A victualler of one hundred and eighty tons, named the Samuel, attended them.

On the 1st of May, 1610, the squadron came to an anchor in the road of Cape Verd, where they found a Frenchman equipping a small pinnace. On examination, the main-mast of the admiral's ship was found in such a decayed state, that had they experienced any severe weather it must have gone by the board. The alcayde, who came to visit the admiral, having given permission to cut down trees, they set about refitting the mast, and other repairs; and began to unlade the Samuel, which they afterwards dismissed.

On the 15th they prepared to depart; and having consulted what course was best, it was agreed on to pass the line direct, and then stretch to the eastward. Entering the road of Saldanna on the 24th of July, they saluted the Dutch admiral with five guns, which

compliment was returned. The admiral landing, perceived memorials left by captain Keeling and others. Among the rest was a notification of his brother, captain David Middleton, who had sailed the preceding year. This gentleman had also left a letter, which was buried under ground, according to agreement, before he left England; but the writing was wholly obliterated by the damp. On the 26th they erected a tent for the reception of the sick; and landed the entire crews, on purpose to air the ships. From this time nothing particular occurred during their stay.

On the 6th of September they anchored in St. Augustine's Bay, where they found the Union in great distress for want of provisions. Next day the admiral went on shore in the pinnace, to examine the country; but could meet with no supplies, save wood and water. Soon after, they fell in with currents and unfavourable winds. Touching at Zocotra, they amused themselves in fishing, and then proceeded to Tamerin, the principal place in the island. This town stands at the bottom of some high rugged hills. The road is partly open, but affords good anchorage. A messenger was dispatched with presents to the king, who received him with respect, and promised his zealous assistance.

Next day the admiral, landing with the chief merchants and a guard of armed men, was conducted to the king's palace. The prince met him at the chamber door, and, seating him in a chair, after reciprocal compliments they discoursed on the trade of the Red Sea. The king gave a favourable account of the people of Aden and Mocha, and observed that they would be happy to trade with the English. On this, sir Henry was desirous of setting up his pinnace; but the king refused permission to do this in the road where the ships then lay, though he pointed out another place: he confessed he was apprehensive, if the admiral tarried too long at Tamerin, the merchants of other nations would be afraid or unwilling to resort thither.

which rendered him averse to any business that could protract their stay. He however gave free leave to take in water, as a mark of his royal bounty; for it appeared other nations paid for it. Wood, he informed them, would cost very dear.

This island abounds in aloes, the best in the world; but it seems the father of this prince, who was sovereign of Fartaque, in Arabia Felix, had engrossed the last crop of that drug; and his Zocotarine majesty dissuaded the admiral from attempting to trade with him, as he did not apprehend it would be allowed.

Steering along the coast, they saw high land, and soon anchored before a town encompassed with a stone wall, and defended by forts and bulwarks. A small boat with three Arabs came on board, with a commission from the governor to inquire what nation they were off; and, if English, to bid them welcome. It seems that a captain Sharpey had been on the same coast the year before, and had given the natives a favourable opinion of the British character and conduct.

One of the messengers, being asked the name and disposition of the bashaw, made answer that he was called Jaffer Bashaw; that his predecessor was very bad, and this man was little better; in short, that all the Turks were worthless. In regard to trade, the same Arab gave a more agreeable account; assuring the admiral that there was a merchant in the town who would purchase all his lading.

On this, sir Henry sent the pinnace ashore with one of the factors, to procure a pilot for Mocha. The English were kindly entertained; but the townsmen, wishing to keep all the trade to themselves, refused a pilot, unless three merchants were left as hostages for his safe return. The admiral seeing their object, prepared to set sail, on which the inhabitants requested he would leave one of his ships, at least, to traffic with them; and in compliance with this demand the Pepper Corn was suffered to remain.

Sir Henry proceeded in the two other ships for Mocha, but was much incommoded by the want of proper pilots. After passing ths Straits of Babelmandel, two Arabs were procured, who pretended to be very skilful in this navigation; but unfortunately they soon ran the Trade's Increase on a sand bank. As the wind blew hard, and the sea was considerably agitated, they began to fear that she could not be got off. In a short time a boat arrived with a message from the governor, desiring to know their country and business; adding that, if English, they were heartily welcome, and that they would find a ready vent for their goods. As to the ship's being aground, these people said it ought not to excite alarm, being very usual with large vessels in that sea, though seldom much damage was sustained.

The same messenger returned next day with several companions, and a small present from the aga, with compliments and assurances to the admiral that he should be well treated, and enjoy as free a trade as in any part of the Turkish dominions.

The first care was to lighten the vessel, by sending some goods on shore, and with them went Mr. Femel, a merchant, who soon sent back an account of the favourable reception he had met with, and the terms on which the trade was to be conducted. The ship was now afloat; and the admiral, being pressed both by the aga and Femel to come on shore for the better convenience of trading, complied with their solicitations; and on his landing was received by several persons of distinction, and conducted to the aga's palace. Here he experienced every testimony of respect, and was introduced to the principal persons of the place. The aga seated sir Henry by him, the rest standing, and loaded him with compliments and welcomes. The admiral delivered the king's letter with a present to the bashaw, and likewise made some acknowledgments to the aga, which were thankfully received. This officer again made professions of his firm support, and that

the English should be protected from molestation and wrong. After this, he caused one of his principal attendants to dress the admiral in a vest of crimson silk and silver; adding, that he need be under no apprehension, as he was under the protection of the grand signior.

Middleton on taking leave was mounted on a fine horse, richly caparisoned, and conducted to the house intended for his residence. Here he dined; and the aga being very importunate with him to stay on shore, he yielded to the apparent kind request.

Day by day the aga sent either presents or civil messages to the admiral, desiring to know if he was well treated, or if he wanted any thing. On the 28th of November he redoubled his attentions, and acquainted sir Henry that the season of fasting being nearly expired he hoped soon to enjoy more of his company in excursions round the country. The same afternoon a gentleman from the ship having supped with the admiral, and intending to return on board, was refused permission by the Turks, on pretence that it was too late. The admiral interceded, but in vain. However, he imagined that this restraint arose from an excess of caution, and still was unsuspicious of harm. Next day, while sir Henry was enjoying the fresh air at the door of his house, in company with Mr. Femel and a Mr. Pemberton, a janizary came from the aga, the purport of whose message was, that his master wished them to be of good cheer, as he had received good news from the bashaw. At this instant a servant belonging to sir Henry, running up in a great fright, exclaimed, they were all betrayed; for that the Turks and the English on shore were fighting behind the house. All was now confusion; and while the admiral was exerting himself to get his men under shelter, he was knocked down by a person who attacked him behind, and remained insensible, till the pain occasioned by tying his hands behind his back brought him to life and recollection. As soon as the Turks perceived that he was

revived, they supported him to the aga's, where he had the concern to find several of his company in the same condition. By the way he was plundered of his money and some gold rings. Those who had escaped the massacre were loaded with irons; the admiral with seven more were yoked by the neck in one chain, after being separately secured by the hands and feet; and two soldiers were left to guard them.

On inquiring into the circumstances of this melancholy affair, sir Henry found that armed soldiers had surrounded the house, and fallen on the English while perfectly unsuspecting and defenceless; that eight were killed outright, and fourteen now present much wounded.

This treacherous conduct in the aga was only the prelude to what he further intended. His object was, after securing the persons of the English, who had trusted to their hospitality on shore, to secure the ships also. For this purpose, the Turks armed three boats with one hundred and fifty soldiers, and rowed up to the Darling, which lay near the shore. That they might pass for Christians, they laid aside their turbans; and before the crew of the Darling could discover their danger, most of the Turks got on board. Three of the English were killed on the first onset: the rest retired to places of security, and prepared for resistance. By some mistake several of the Turks leaped into the ship's boat, and, cutting the cables, fell down with the current. By this time the crew of the Darling began to recover from their consternation, and to be furnished with arms: some of them threw a barrel of gunpowder and a fire-brand among the thickest of the assailants; others laid trains of powder, and fired musketry, which so terrified the Turks, lest they should be blown up, that many leaped into the sea and were drowned; the rest were dispatched on board. Only one man was saved, who, concealing himself till the carnage was over, obtained mercy.

The boat returning to the town, brought the joyful

news that the ship was taken; for we have observed, that as soon as the vessel was boarded a party suffered themselves to be wafted along by the current from the scene of action. This intelligence diffused universal joy over the town: but what was the surprise of the Turks, when they hastened to the spot where the ship used to ride, and found her under sail! They now ran to inform the aga that the ship had escaped; and that they verily believed the Emirsal Bahr, or lord of the sea, and all his men, were taken prisoners. The aga, however, had given intimation to the admiral that the small ship was taken, which he believed might be the fact. Soon after sun-rise this unfortunate officer was carried with his seven yoke-fellows before the aga, who, dropping all his former finesse, sternly asked him how he dared to enter the port of Mocha. Sir Henry replied, that the cause of his coming was no secret, and that he did not land but with his own entire permission, and after many pressing invitations. The aga insisted that it was not lawful for any Christian to approach their holy city, to which Mocha was the key; and that the bashaw had it in express orders, from the grand signior, to make slaves of every Christian who should presume to enter those seas, even with his own pass. The admiral repeated that it was not his wish to transgress, but that he was trepanned under fair pretences of good usage.

The aga then showed him a letter from captain Dounton at Aden, which had fallen into his hands. It conveyed the disagreeable news, that two of his merchants and the purser were detained on shore, nor could he obtain their release but on condition of paying one thousand five hundred venetianos * for anchorage, and requested sir Henry's advice how to acquit himself in this unpleasant business.

The aga inquired into the purport of this letter, which being freely communicated, the Turk informed

* Six shillings and ninepence each.

him, that the ship had proceeded from Aden to Mocha, but was lost in her passage with all the men and goods.

The aga then desired that the admiral would write, to know how many Turks were on board the small vessel; adding, that she was once in their possession, but had been rescued by the large ship; which information in some measure compensated for the other disagreeable intelligence which sir Henry had received. But the aga now went a step further; he insisted on the admiral's writing to his officers to deliver up the large ship, promising that he should have the small one to carry him home; and threatened, in case of refusal, his head should be struck off. The admiral replied with firmness, that he might dispose of him as he pleased, since life was now become a burden; but that he would not write as directed, or, if he did, it would be nugatory; since his men were not such simpletons as to obey the commands of an officer in confinement, nor would they tamely surrender themselves for slaves.

The aga, finding it impossible to prevail, caused sir Henry to be separated from the rest, and loaded with fetters and manacles. He was then lodged under a pair of stairs, in a miserable hole; but on the entreaties of a person of some humanity and influence, was soon accommodated with a better room; though still the hard ground was his bed, a stone his pillow, and the rats his companions.

The aga's lieutenant and the drugoman came at midnight, and in soothing terms requested the admiral would procure them information of the names and numbers of the Turks who were prisoners on board the ship, but to conceal his own misfortunes, and even to pretend that he was well used. Part of this request he complied with, but at the same conveyed a hint to be on their guard. This gave the crew the pleasing certainty that their commander was still alive; and the return was, as before stated, that all the Turks were either killed or drowned, save one.

Various expedients were tried to shake the resolution of the admiral, and he continued in great distress, without any knowledge of the fate of his ships, till the 15th of December. Indeed those on ship-board experienced many difficulties from adverse winds and shoals, and even their water began to fail. Besides, they were distracted to know what course they ought to pursue; and as all communication was cut off with the shore, it was at last proposed to find one of their number, who would venture to procure them some intelligence respecting their companions.

One John Chambers, a man of undaunted courage, agreed to go on this hazardous expedition, and to liberate his associates from their doubt and perplexity, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, on the 15th of December, he was landed on a small island near the town, with a flag of truce, together with an Indian interpreter. Being brought before the aga, he was interrogated how he dared to land without permission. He answered that he came under the sanction of a flag of truce, with a letter to the commander, and was anxious to know, with the aga's good pleasure, the situation of his countrymen. After a strict examination, he was conducted to the admiral's cell, which was almost perfectly dark, and delivered his letter with a degree of feeling which does honour to human nature. He shed tears at the sight of so much distress; and, on being told that it was feared the Turks would not permit him to return on board, he said he came with the resolution to share his commander's sufferings, if he was not allowed to serve him in a more effectual way. The aga had intercepted some few necessaries which had been sent for the use of the admiral; and thought he had shown great lenity, in permitting an interview between him and the messenger. Chambers, finding it impossible to relieve the commander from his present misery, was requested to leave him, and fortunately got on board again.

When hope was almost extinct, it began to revive

again. An aga arrived from Zenan with orders to bring up the English, and immediately visited the admiral and his companions in captivity. This officer made the same observations and attempts as have been previously mentioned, and met with the same intrepid answers. On asking the admiral whether he did not know that the grand signior's sword was long? Sir Henry replied, that he had not sunk under the sword, but treachery; and that if he and his people were on board, he did not value their power. The aga said, it was proudly spoken; and again urged him to write a letter, commanding his men to come on shore, and surrender themselves to the bashaw; but in vain.

The Turkish officer then informed sir Henry, that he came with express orders from the bashaw, to conduct him and his people to Zenan, and advised him to procure warm clothing from on board, as the air of the mountains was sharp and piercing. The admiral intreated that, if possible, his men might be permitted to return to the ship, and that he and a few more might undertake this journey. The aga observed, that it was not in his power to grant this request; however, another officer interposing, it was agreed on that the admiral and five more should appear before the bashaw; and that the rest should remain in captivity till further orders. On the 20th, captain Dounton, in the Pepper Corn, to the agreeable surprise of the English, came into the road from Aden, to whom sir Henry was allowed to write with freedom.

The irons being knocked off, it was at last determined that the admiral and thirty-four more should proceed to Zenan; the carpenters, smiths, and some sick men alone being left behind. Sir Henry and Mr. Femel were indulged with horses; the rest of the party rode on asses. About ten at night, while they were twelve miles distant from Mocha, Mr. Pemberton found means to slip away, and was not missed till next day. Mr. Pemberton was moved to this desperate attempt, from the dread of perpetual slavery, or death.

A brave man, struggling with unmerited distress, will always interest some among the most obdurate hearts. Sir Henry found several friends, who advised him not to be dejected, and supplied him and his men with temporary relief on the journey. The consul of the Bannians, whose good offices had commenced at Mocha, and who was now travelling to Zenan, visited the English admiral every day, and assured him of his zealous services with the bashaw, which promise he religiously kept.

The journey to Zenan was extremely unpleasant. The aga rode in triumph as a conqueror, and the English were considered as captives taken in war. They lay on the bare ground at night, part of the way, and suffered extremely from the cold. In fifteen days they reached Zenan, which, though little beyond the tropic, is frequently visited with frosts of an intenseness which could scarcely be credited in such a latitude. On entering the town, the Turkish soldiers preceded the English, who were disposed of in such a manner as made the greatest possible show. The aga brought up the rear, and assumed the state of a warrior who had subdued his enemies in battle. They proceeded in this style to the castle through immense crowds, and were received at the first gate by a large body of soldiers; at the second gate were two guns ready mounted; and having passed this, they found themselves in a very spacious court. Here the commander alighted, and was soon conducted before the bashaw, together with Mr. Femel. The bashaw was seated at the upper end of a large gallery, attended by many nobles and officers. Sir Henry was led by two men, who held him by the wrist, and having come within a few feet of the bashaw, was sternly questioned of what country he was, and what was the object of his visiting these regions. The admiral answered that he was an English merchant, which nation being in amity with the grand signior, he was induced to come there for the purposes of trade. The bashaw said it was not lawful for any

Christian to set his foot in that country, and that he had warned captain Sharpey, who had formerly trespassed in the same way, to caution his countrymen never more to offend. Sir Henry observed, that captain Sharpey was cast away on the coast of India, and did not live to communicate his highness's commands, or he would not have brought himself and his men into their present unhappy predicament. He added, that Rejib, aga of Mocha, had cajoled him by specious professions, and having once got him in his power, had assaulted him and his men with an armed force, and either killed or took the whole prisoners,[a] who had trusted to his protection.

The bashaw replied, that Rejib was only his slave, and had acted without his authority in the first instance; and that what had befallen him and his men was in conformity to an order from the grand signior himself. Sir Henry observed, that they had received great damage; and if his highness would suffer them to depart with their ships, it would be a sufficient warning to his nation in future not to transgress.

The bashaw gave him to understand that he could not grant this permission without the concurrence of his master, to whom he would apply, to know his pleasure respecting them. With this the admiral was dismissed, and with five gentlemen committed to the house of the keeper of the prison, while the rest were heavily ironed, and thrown into the common jail.

The catastrophe of a young man, who was among the captives at this interview, proves the fatal effects of violent fear. This poor fellow, thinking that the admiral was about to lose his head, when he was so rudely presented to the bashaw, fell into a swoon, and soon after died from mere apprehension.

On the 6th of January, the chiaous, or lieutenant of the kingdom, invited sir Henry to breakfast, and treated him with much civility. The admiral gave him a full explanation of the treacherous conduct of the aga of Mocha; on which this officer bade him be

of good cheer, and not reflect on the past, which could not be remedied, but indulge the hope that all would yet end well.

Next day the chiaous entertained him and Mr. Femel in his garden, and consoled him with the promise of their speedy discharge, and that all his wrongs at Mocha should be redressed; he assured him also of his particular friendship; and in the presence of many distinguished persons declared, that he was actuated solely by the love of God to show him this kindness; but the admiral concluded his views were not quite so pure as he pretended.

Providence, however, raised them one patron after another: among the rest, a friend of the bashaw, who knowing all the transactions at Mocha, and being satisfied of the blameless conduct of the English, interested himself with the chief in their behalf.

Sir Henry at last having stipulated to pay one thousand five hundred venetianos, to expedite the business, was afterwards conveyed before the bashaw, who behaved with great affability, and informed him that he should soon be at liberty to return with his men to Mocha, and to proceed with his ships for India. As for the goods seized, they were placed to the account of the grand signior, and could not be restored. The bashaw apologized for what had happened, and hoped it would be a caution to other Christian powers not to interfere in the commerce of that country, to the prejudice of the native rights.

The admiral, having made his acknowledgments, retired on this occasion; and, having taken a future opportunity of paying his respects, met with the same gracious reception and flattering promises. In the meanwhile, many of the English falling sick, the commander did not cease his solicitations for their liberation from prison, which at last he effected.

Being now on the eve of departure, the bashaw gave sir Henry another solemn warning against any of his countrymen coming into these quarters; and upon his

urging the apprehensions he was under from the aga of Mocha, and wishing to have a letter of protection from the bashaw, that officer proudly replied, Is not my word sufficient? If Rejib aga wrongs you, I will pull his skin over his ears, and give you his head, for he is my slave. After this, the chiaous was commanded to prepare the dispatch, which he executed without delay, and gave the admiral an additional proof of his friendship, by presenting him with one hundred pieces of gold, before he took his leave.

The city of Zenan (or Senaa) is described as being about the extent of Bristol, at the period of this voyage. The houses were built of lime and stone; wood and water were fetched from a great distance, and therefore very dear. The bashaw resided in the castle, which lies on the east side of the town. The house of the keeper of the prison, where sir Henry was lodged, was contiguous to the city wall: at the foot of which a great number of people, principally women and children, were detained as pledges of the allegiance of their parents and relations. While these victims of jealous despotism were very young, they were suffered to run about; but as they approached to puberty, they were fettered, and removed to a strong tower, there to be kept, at the pleasure of the tyrannical governor.

Previous to his departure, the English commander had procured a letter from his friend, the chiaous, for the purpose of having a young man belonging to Mr. Pemberton delivered up, who was said to have turned Mahometan; but though the youth, instigated by promises and threats, had only apparently changed his religion, and had even received the seal of the Mahometan faith by an act of violence, it was of no avail to plead for his liberation. Having externally embraced the religion of the prophet, it was deemed a profanation to expose him to the power of Christians; and he remained in durance among the musselmen for some time longer.

2

After a journey of sixteen days, the English again reached Mocha, and the prospect of meeting their friends on board gave new joy, and cause for reciprocal congratulation. Mr. Pemberton, it appeared, had found means to reach the ship, after deserting the company on their road to Zenan. The Arabs behaved to the strangers with much attention; being themselves ill used by the Turks, they had learned to commiserate the misfortunes of others. Even the perfidious aga affected a kind and complacent manner, declaring, that he had only executed the orders of his superiors, which his duty compelled him to do.

Sir Henry judged it prudent to simulate with the dissembler, and listened with seeming satisfaction, but gave little credit to his protestations. He was invited to feasts, and flattered with offers of unsolicited services; but he found himself watched and guarded, and therefore saw no prospect of obtaining his liberty, but by planning a secret escape.

To effect this, the Darling being arrived, the admiral wrote for plenty of liquors and a boat, that he might embrace the first favorable opportunity of coming off in a cask. It fortunately happened that, on the 11th of April, the aga and his chief officers being out on a pleasure party, sir Henry resolved to put his scheme in practice; and distributing liquors in abundance to his guards, left them in such a state of intoxication, that he was conveyed away in the cask intended for his reception, and was put on board the boat, before his escape was at all suspected. Mr. Femel, however, and some others, being too dilatory in setting out, could not be taken in at the spot agreed on, notwithstanding all the exertions of the commander for this purpose. Indeed, the whole town being speedily alarmed, it was with great difficulty that the boat could escape to the ship: the danger at one moment was most imminent, from Sir Henry's great zeal to rescue his friends, particularly Mr. Femel. That gentleman, after a resolute attempt to regain his freedom, was secured and brought

before the aga, together with some others, and threatened with the loss of their heads.

Sir Henry, however, being now in the command of his ships, sent a peremptory message to the aga; that if he injured any of his men, or did not deliver up the stores, he would execute vengeance, by firing the ships in the harbour, and by attempting to batter the town.

This threat, and the probability of its being carried into effect, caused a sensible ferment in Mocha. The aga too was in personal fear, lest he should lose his own head for neglect; and every person who had acted under him, or been in any respect concerned in the guarding of the English, felt a fear proportioned to the magnitude of his trust.

Next day an officer came on board to the admiral with letters, and expressed his concern for this precipitate step; as within a few days sir Henry and all his men might have enjoyed their liberty without any risk. He added, that the stores should be sent on board; but that an order from the bashaw was necessary to procure a liberation of the men who were still detained. A respite of fifteen days was requested; and if every person was not instantly sent on board, immediately after the expiration of that period, neither mercy nor favour was expected.

The admiral likewise insisted on having the pinnace delivered up within the time specified; but he judged it advisable not to demand restitution of, or compensation for, the goods, till after he had recovered his men.

These terms and demands being reported to the aga, he fell into a rage, particularly in regard to the pinnace. In the meanwhile, a variety of the marine stores, deposited on shore, was daily sent off, together with trifling presents and refreshments from the aga.

On the 13th, the Increase and Pepper Corn anchored in sight of the road, and next morning entered, to the great joy of sir Henry, who now saw his fleet reunited.

After a number of unimportant transactions and evasions, on the part of the Turks, on the 25th Nakhada Mohammed came to inform the admiral, that the bashaw had signed an order for the release of his men and the pinnace, and promised that they should be restored on the morrow.

On the morrow, however, the same officer returned, saying that the pinnace was launched, but that the aga would neither deliver her or the men, till the admiral had given an assurance under his hand, that he would neither injure nor molest the Turks or their allies, in their persons or property; and that he would demand no restitution of the goods which had been seized, or any compensation for them; which engagement was to be confirmed by oath, and the additional signatures of five of the principal persons on board. Sir Henry expressed his surprise that, instead of fulfilling their promises, he should be daily insulted with new demands; and to bring them to a proper sense of justice and fair dealing, he was now resolved to keep the aga's messenger and attendants as hostages; and desired Mohammed, the deputy in question, to inform his employer of this determination. To this the messenger strongly objected, as he had volunteered the business out of good will to the English; but if the admiral would condescend to give him a writing to the purport of what was required, he assured him all his people should be on board before night.

The commander, finding compulsory means unavailable, yielded in appearance; and drawing up a brief relation, in English, of the treacherous conduct he had experienced from the Turks, gave it to the officer with the number of signatures desired, as a substitute for the engagement solicited. He likewise put Mr. Femel on his guard how to interpret this writing, and then dispatched the officer on shore.

Towards evening he returned, according to his promise, with Mr. Femel and nine others, and next morning the pinnace was delivered. The admiral next

insisted on having the youth liberated, who had become a pretended proselyte to the Mahometan faith; which point, after some difficulty, he carried, and the boy once more became a Christian.

In every transaction, till the last moment of their stay, the Turks shewed a wish to entrap and circumvent the English; but the admiral being now at liberty, and zealously seconded by his men, counteracted all their machinations, and set his enemies at defiance.

Soon after Mr. Femel was surrendered up, he paid the debt of nature, either owing to a calenture, or poison administered by the Turks. A variety of manœuvres were played off on both sides, and some time was spent in fruitless negociation: at last the English commander, having obtained all the indemnity and satisfaction which circumstances would permit, on the 3d of July left the road of Mocha, and sailed for Assab. Here he spent some time in watering; and fearful lest the Turks should have poisoned the wells, which he understood they sometimes did, he had them emptied and cleaned before he laid in his supplies.

On the 13th, the king of the country sent a letter and refreshments for the admiral; and having congratulated him on his escape from his enemies, gave him a cordial welcome into his own dominions, promising to supply him with whatever his country afforded. Sir Henry gave the messengers a kind reception, and made a suitable reply to the king, accompanied with some presents.

In a few days a vessel arrived from Mocha, to make the final arrangements with the English, and to complete their mutual contracts; but the bashaw, having made a frivolous excuse for not sending a ratification of the treaty of amity agreed to be entered into, gave the admiral absolute conviction that the Turks meant to take every advantage of the English which circumstances might throw in their power, and this determined him to enter into similar views.

A large and valuable ship was daily expected from

Suez to Mocha, on board of which his principal enemies had considerable ventures. This vessel he watched for some days, to the great danger of his own fleet; but at last had the mortification to find she had escaped him in the night.

Having lost much time, and experienced, as has been seen, numerous disasters in the Red Sea, the admiral now fell down to Babelmandel; and two of his ships sailing by the western channel, and the other two by the eastern, joined in safety the same day without the Straights.

From the 12th to the 27th of August, they had much adverse wind, with occasional calms, so that they made but little progress. But the monsoon being now far spent, the admiral procured the assistance of boats from the nachada of Din, to get ballast and water on board, and likewise treated with him for the purchase of a considerable quantity of aloes.

This business settled, on the 3d of September sir Henry warped the ships out of the road; and having engaged a pilot to conduct him to India, proceeded on his voyage. On the 27th he reached Surat, where he found several Indian and many Portuguese vessels. It seems that the Portuguese had received intimation of the English being in the Red Sea, and had purposely sent some frigates to Surat, to prevent them from trading on the coast.

The admiral of the armada, as it was termed, sent a small frigate on the 29th, to congratulate the English commander on his arrival, and to offer him all the services in his power; but intimating at the some time, that unless he brought letters of license from the king of Spain, or the viceroy, no permission could be granted him to traffic. Sir Henry replied, that he was furnished with no letters of that kind, nor did he see the necessity of them, as he brought credentials and presents to the great mogul, with a view of promoting the trade and intercourse already begun.

Sir Henry soon after received letters from one Nicholas Bangham, stating the affairs of the English in that quarter, which were in a very forlorn situation, owing to the jealousy of the Portuguese, and the preponderance of their interest with the country powers. Indeed, though some of the chiefs among the natives expressed their desire of trading with sir Henry, they owned the difficulty, and even the impossibility of doing it, without the concurrence of the Portuguese.

Nevertheless, the admiral determined to try his utmost: but the Portuguese having laid an ambuscade for a party of his men on shore, and proceeded to open hostilities, a consultation of officers was held, when it was resolved to concentrate the ships in the road, and to order the men on board.

The viceroy's son arriving with one hundred sail of vessels, of different descriptions, sir Henry gave directions for the security of his fleet, not knowing how he stood affected. Afterwards Chojah Nassan, the governor of Surat, made a tender of supplies, and that in a few days a trade would be opened; but failing in his promise, the commander was on the point of departure, when intelligence was brought by a broker, that Mokrib Chan, one of the mogul's officers, and Chojah Nassan, would soon arrive to treat with him. Sir Henry received them on board, made them liberal presents, and flattered himself not only with a lucrative present trade, but with obtaining permission to establish a future factory. Having, however, gratified the avarice of those unprincipled dependants of royalty, as far as possible, and received in return very warm professions of services and regard; the admiral, after various evasive answers and broken promises, at last found himself duped and deceived, and was ordered to quit Surat with speed.

In compliance with this injunction, he left the road on the 12th of February, and arriving at Dubul on the 16th, dispatched a letter to the governor, soliciting li-

berty to trade, and kind treatment. The chief made a favourable reply, and an immediate intercourse with the shore took place.

On the 24th a council of officers was called, to determine what steps to pursue; whether they should proceed for Priaman and Bantam, or return to the Red Sea to trade with the Indian ships bound thither. After discussing the two propositions, it was unanimously agreed that they should visit the Red Sea, for the subsequent reasons:—To dispose of their outward bound cargo, and to procure another; to retaliate the great and unprovoked injuries received at Mocha; and to assist in rescuing such of the East India ships as should chance to be involved in similar dangers from inadvertency or ignorance.

On the evening of the 27th, having previously taken fresh water on board, a ship was observed in the offing, which proved to be a Portuguese vessel from Cochin, bound for Chaul. Her lading chiefly consisted of cocoa nuts. Some few articles were taken out of her, an inventory of which the admiral caused to be certified under the hands of the principal persons on board, and then dismissed her.

On the 25th of March they had a view of the island of Socotra, and on the 27th were near Cape Gardafui, the extreme promontory of Africa towards the east.

Some unimportant avocations took up their time till the 22d of April, when Mr. Pemberton returned from Socotra, and informed the admiral that he had been shown a writing by captain John Saris, who, notwithstanding he had seen sir Henry's caution not to proceed into the Red Sea, having obtained the grand signior's pass, had flattered himself with being able, with this sanction, to make a safe and profitable voyage.

The admiral having received this unexpected intelligence, called a council, in which their former resolution was confirmed; and, indeed, there was now no

other alternative till the periodical change of the winds, which could not happen for nearly a month. The Pepper Corn, captain Dounton, was accordingly left to cruize in this latitude; while sir Henry, in the Trade's Increase and Darling, determined to watch the double straight of Babelmandel.

On the 4th of May the admiral anchored within Babelmandel, between Arabia and the island; when a Turkish chief, appointed by the aga of Mocha to guard the pass, came off, and promised the commander that if he was disposed to write to Mocha, an answer should be procured in three days. On this he sent a letter to captain Saris, to acquaint him with his reasons for coming hither, and the detail of his plan.

On the 6th, a vessel came in from Zayla laden principally with mats. The admiral purchased twelve sheep, being part of her live stock, and then suffered her to depart. In this situation several ships fell into his hands, which were detained and plundered; but only one contained a lading of any considerable value.

The 14th, captain Saris arrived and anchored with the three ships under his command, near sir Henry. Having saluted each other with their guns, captain Saris, and some of the principal persons on board his squadron, visited his countrymen, and spent some time in consultation. Next day sir Henry returned the visit, and dined on board the Clove, captain Saris's ship, where he was favoured with a sight of the grand signior's pass. Much conversation took place; and the principal events of their respective voyages being mutually communicated, it was at last agreed that they should adopt the same line of conduct; and that captain Saris and his fleet should be allowed one-third of all the prizes they might be fortunate enough to capture.

As they absolutely commanded the navigation of the Red Sea, it was impossible but many vessels must fall into their possession, and some of them were of very considerable value. The Turks, sensible what gross

provocation they had given the English, and that they were now entirely at their mercy, sent Mammi, captain of the galleys, accompanied by other persons of consequence, to negotiate a cessation of hostilities, and to know the demands of sir Henry, as a full and indefinite compensation for past injuries.

This was what the admiral wished for; and that he might not lose the opportunity of an adequate indemnification, when fortune had put it so entirely in his own power, he insisted on receiving one hundred thousand rials of eight. To this the messengers demurred; but requested him to send to Zenan to know the pleasure of the bashaw.

On the 30th, a general consultation was held on board the Trade's Increase; and the same day, the captain of the galleys and an aga nominated by the bashaw returned, to confer about the stipulations required. But finding sir Henry would make no abatement in his demands, they desired leave to apply to the captains of the Indian ships and other principal merchants, to endeavour to gain their consent to the levying some additional duties towards discharging the fine. This proposition of raising the customs was by no means palatable; whereupon the commissioners, not being provided with the money, were obliged to solicit for a longer period. Meanwhile the English were employed in examining the Indian commodities on board the captured ships, and in exchanging such as suited them for their own goods.

Captain Dounton, who was stationed to watch the port of Aden, met with equal success; and was instrumental in retaliating the injuries the squadron had formerly received.

Delay succeeding delay, sir Henry was determined to bring matters to a speedy conclusion; and accordingly, on the 11th, set sail for Mocha, with all the English and the Indian ships he had detained, leaving only the Pepper Corn behind, which soon joined him.

Perceiving that, after all, the Turks were adverse to a compromise so disadvantageous to themselves, and that they were busy in unlading a ship of Katsnagone, the admiral ordered captain Dounton, in the Pepper Corn, to warp near him, when they discharged several guns at the Turks, which obliged them to desist from their employment.

Still, however, these obstinate people kept aloof, which induced the admiral to adopt another expedient. He now called a meeting of all the captains of the Indian ships, at which he stated his complaints against the Turks, and informed them that, although he had indemnified himself for the injuries he had received in India, yet, till the Turks had made him ample compensation, he would not suffer them to depart, nor to trade at this place, but was resolved to carry all the Indian ships with him to sea, that his enemies might derive no benefit from trading with them this season.

Finding the admiral resolute, the Indian merchants, that they might not lose all the advantages of their voyage, desired to come to a composition; and proposed that every ship should pay a certain sum to the English for liberty to trade.

Sir Henry, aware that he could not force satisfaction from the Turks without further prejudice to the Indians, agreed to this proposal; and having settled the specific sums which each was to pay, and received a considerable advance, on the 6th of August one of captain Saris's squadron was dispatched by her commander; and having settled his own share of the composition-money, he followed on the 13th, and left the Red Sea.

On the 16th of August, the Trade's Increase and Pepper Corn set sail, and repassing the Straits of Babelmandel, proceeded for India.

Nothing particular happened till they reached the road of Tekoa, on the 19th of October, where they found the Darling, which had been lying there during the greatest part of the rainy season, and had buried

several of her company, while a general sickness still prevailed. She had procured but little pepper, nor was there a possibility of more till the return of the season.

Sir Henry, therefore, finding little encouragement at this place on account of some intestine broils, which almost annihilated every species of commerce, set sail on the 23d for Bantam, in the Pepper Corn, leaving captain Dounton in the Trade's Increase for a month longer, to take in the remainder of the pepper which had been purchased.

Captain Dounton found convincing proofs of the dishonesty of the natives; for on examining the pepper, in some sacks there were small bags of paddy, in others rice, and in some stones, exclusive of a quantity of wet and damaged pepper put up in new sacks.

Having got every thing on board, they set sail by moon light, trusting to their former knowledge of the navigation. On sounding, they found oozy ground and the water shallowing, though still deep enough to prevent the idea of danger. However, at once they discovered that it was only four fathom; and, to increase their consternation, the ship struck on a latent rock, and was held fast. In this situation they remained for some hours; but the wind becoming calm, and the sea smooth, lessened their apparent danger, and gave them hopes of getting disengaged. But the leak, occasioned by the shock, gaining ground notwithstanding all their exertions, they began to be under considerable alarm. However, as there appeared to be a tolerable depth of water on all sides of the ship, they used the utmost expedition in letting out a stern anchor, which was dropped in twenty-six fathom water, in order to heave her off. This had all the effect that could be desired; for the ship was almost immediately afloat, and soon anchored about a mile from this unfortunate spot. In order to stop the leak, it was judged expedient to return to Tekoa; but it required incessant labour to keep the water from gain-

ing ground; and the men began to be exhausted, and to increase the danger by their murmurs and discontent.

As the leak was evidently in the stern, they busily employed themselves for ten days in lightening that part, and in making such temporary repairs as circumstances would allow. They then sailed from Tekoa, and fortunately got over the bar. In the course of their voyage they had a violent storm of thunder and lightning with gusts of wind. Before this was abated, they had sight of the high land of Sumatra, and on the 20th, arrived at Pulo Panian.

Here the admiral, having previously fitted out the Pepper Corn, summoned a council to consult about their future proceedings; when it was resolved, that the Trade's Increase ought to be careened before she could venture to return home; and as that would take up a considerable period, it was further concluded, that the Pepper Corn should be immediately dispatched to England, for the satisfaction of the owners,

In consequence of this determination, the Pepper Corn set sail on the 4th of February, 1613, and on the 10th of May arrived in Saldanna road, where they found the Hector and Thomas East-indiamen, which captain Dounton meant to accompany; and therefore, made use of all possible expedition to lay in the necessary refreshments. Setting sail in company, on the 16th, at evening, the Thomas was fallen far astern, while the Hector, being the fleetest sailer, bore away without concern, and this night the Pepper Corn lost sight of them. Captain Dounton steered such a course as he thought most likely to recover the convoy, but without effect; and having spent some days in the search was obliged to proceed alone.

Sickness and distress soon overtook the crew of the Pepper Corn, and they were obliged to bear away for England without the prospect of one half being ever able to reach it. They crossed the line on the 18th of June, and on the 10th of September, while they were

approaching their native shores, met with a strong gale of wind and a hollow sea, which drove them from their intended course. In this dilemma they tried to fetch Milford Haven; and the next afternoon had a view of the coast of both Wales and Ireland. The winds being contrary, they were once more obliged to alter their plan; and finding it impossible to gain Milford Haven, they stood for Waterford in Ireland. With some difficulty they reached this port; and though the Irish showed the sick and weakly crew all the humanity in their power, owing to the misrepresentations of a worthless fellow, whom captain Dounton was obliged to punish for his misbehaviour, that unfortunate officer was taken up on a charge of piracy, and confined in the fort of Dungannon for nearly three weeks.

Thus, after a long and dangerous voyage, enough to impair the health of the most robust, captain Dounton had no other consolation, on reaching the British dominions, than a prison, and a capital charge to answer: however, having immediately sent off dispatches for England, he at length procured his discharge; and on the 20th of October landed in safety at Blackwall.

But the catastrophe of sir Henry Middleton still remains to be told. That indefatigable commander, after dispatching the Pepper Corn, steered for Machian, to careen and repair his ship. While he lay here, a dreadful mortality breaking out among his company, he lost above one hundred, and only thirty-three remained alive, the greatest part of whom were sick. Middleton had borne imprisonment, and the common disasters of voyagers, with equanimity; he had struggled with adverse fortune, and sometimes risen superior to its severest frowns; but when he lost his men, he lost all hopes. Grief preyed on his heart, and soon brought him to the grave. He died on the 24th of May 1613.

VOYAGE OF

CAPTAIN JAMES,

FOR THE DISCOVERY

OF

A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE TO INDIA.

THE love of gain will ever be the most active stimulus of adventurers. Notwithstanding the sufferings we have recorded of navigators in the northern seas, commercial and speculative men still entertained the idea, that a passage that way to the South Sea was practicable; and former failures only rendered the patrons of the scheme more zealous to persevere. For this purpose, several merchants of Bristol formed themselves into a company, about the year 1630; and king James I. being apprised of their designs, no less honourable to their country than beneficial to themselves, was graciously pleased to signify his approbation, and to confirm the choice they had made of Capt. Thomas James to go upon this expedition.

James was universally regarded as a man of integrity, as well as an experienced mariner; and consequently was well adapted for such an enterprise. Besides, he had been engaged in some northern voyages; and it was supposed that he united local knowledge to a consummate perfection in the nautic art.

As a large ship would have been more difficult to manage, in such a navigation, than a small one, James only desired a vessel of seventy tons; which being equipped, he fell down Bristol Channel on the 3d of

May 1631; but, meeting with contrary winds, took shelter in Milford Haven, where he remained several days. A fair wind springing up, he took the advantage; and on the 4th of June arrived in sight of Greenland.

Next morning he was encompassed with ice; and the more the men endeavoured to extricate themselves from it, the more they were entangled. At last they made fast to a large piece, and endeavoured to repel the approach of the others, in which attempt all their poles were broken. The danger hourly increased; and on the 6th, such prodigious fragments of ice assailed them, that the ship was in imminent danger of being crushed to pieces; but, by spreading the sails, she escaped, only to dash with more violence on another fragment, which staved the shallop, and at first it was doubted if the ship had not shared the same fate.

However, by launching the long-boat, the parts of the shallop were recovered, and placed on the deck; and the ship made her way, during a perfect storm, through such impediments as every moment threatened destruction.

Being near the most southern point of Greenland on the 10th, the sea being very rough, and some pieces of ice in sight higher than the main topmast, the long-boat broke from the stern, and two men were desperately bruised in trying to recover it, which, however, they effected.

After receiving many shocks from the mountains of ice, on the 17th, at night, the weather was so dark, foggy, and severe, that they were in the momentary expectation of being dashed to pieces; and the sails and rigging became stiff with frost. When morning appeared, they perceived the Isle of Resolution, in the opening of Hudson's Strait, and endeavoured to double the southern point. As the fog, which had continued for some days, began to clear up, they found the entrance of the Strait filled with ice closely wedged together; and in attempting to proceed they were fast inclosed, and driven to and fro with it.

Early on the 20th, having doubled the intended point of Resolution, the wind shifting to the west drove them, together with the ice, towards land, within two leagues of which they met with nothing but short breakers, and masses of ice aground, at the depth of 40 fathoms. Both the ship and the ice were whirled round and round, in a surprising manner, by an eddy of the sea, and they were soon met by a strong ebb, rushing from the broken grounds of the island, which carried them through innumerable meanders among rocks and ice. To prevent themselves from being driven on shore and wrecked, which they had the strongest reason to dread, they endeavoured to make fast to a piece of ice on each side, that drew about ten fathoms water, which served them by way of sounding; being so situated, that one or the other must have been driven aground before the ship.

This expedient, however, appearing insufficient to secure the ship, the boat was hoisted out in search of a place of safety among the rocks; but being instantly inclosed, the men were obliged to haul her upon the ice, and to drag her from piece to piece. Meanwhile the whirling of the ice disengaged the ship from her two supporters, and the crew were obliged to make signals for the boat to return. It was even feared she had been lost with one-third of the crew; however, to the great joy of the company, she rejoined them.

The ship had now only three fathoms water, and lay under the shelter of a large mass of ice, which was aground; but at the return of the tide, the floating fragments drove with such violence against her sides, that all the exertions of the men were required to keep them off. At high water, their bulwark of ice towards the shore, floated also, and left them exposed; but at the return of the tide it providentially resumed its station, and afforded them shelter again.

After a repetition of attacks from the ice, and passing a night in bustle and alarm, amidst snow and tempest, at high water the ship was driven on a sharp

rock, where she was left by the ebb in such a posture that it was impossible the men could keep their footing in her. Apprehending she would never be got off, the crew began to think of another world, and went to prayers on an adjoining portion of ice. Happily, however, as the tide turned, to their inexpressible joy they once more saw the ship afloat, and having got on board, they laboured with all their might to extricate her from a vicinity of such imminent danger. They first tried to surround themselves with ice, as being much less dangerous than the rocks. They were, however, obliged to hew one piece with their axes and other strong instruments, for fear of being overset by it.

Captain James now went on shore on the ice, which formed a continued footing to the land, and having erected a beacon of stones, he placed a cross upon it, and named it the HARBOUR OF GOD'S PROVIDENCE. At low water, those pieces that were aground broke with a thundering noise.

On the 23d, the captain and some of his men went to reconnoitre the east part of the island, where he climbed up a high ground, to see if he could possibly descry any place where he might steer the ship into greater security.

While in the search, he heard a dreadful noise, which arose from a very large piece of ice splitting, near the ship, into four pieces. It happened, however, that it was at too great a distance to do any manner of damage.

The captain now sent the boat into a cove he had discovered, and on her return unmoored the ship, and with all possible expedition, warped her away from the ice; but they had not left it above a mile, before it went to pieces in such horrible ruin that every one was convinced, the ship must have inevitably been lost, had she remained in her former station.

Having entered the cove, captain James again went on shore; and discovered nothing but broken ground, without the least vegetation of any kind. As the ice

yet covered the pools, no fowls were to be expected; nor were any animals seen, save a few foxes. However, there were signs of some of the savages having lately been on that desolate spot, though it was not easy to conjecture what had brought them thither.

This cove received the appellation of Price's, from the master of the ship. It lies in 61 deg. 24 min. north latitude; and from the high lands Butten's Islands were discerned.

A fresh gale springing up, on the 24th they left the cove, steering between mountains of ice aground, twice as high as the topmast head. For the space of a league they had clear water, and endeavoured to gain the north shore; but the ice was so closely wedged together that they could make little progress, and were in constant danger. The weather clearing up two days after, they had clear sunshine, but little open sea; and the nights were so cold that the rigging froze.

On the 5th of July they observed Salisbury Island, Prince Charles's Cape, and Mill Island; but to the north-west nothing was to be seen but ice, which gave the captain the greater concern, as he began to be sensible of the impracticability of prosecuting his discoveries in that quarter this season.

Hudson's Straits are about one hundred and twenty leagues long, and from fifteen to twenty leagues broad. The north shore is the clearest from ice; but the navigation is endangered by many low islands. There is a certain tide, but no current.

On account of the ice, as already mentioned, James, finding it impossible to advance to the north-westward, on the 16th of July he altered his course, and stood for Mansfield Island, which he gained sight of the ensuing day.

This island is low and steril; but has ponds of fresh water. Here the crew were put to half allowance of bread; and two men complained of sickness, but

soon recovered. The ship stood off and on for a good way down the coast, but could find no refreshments, save a few fowls.

The wind proving favourable, on the 18th they made for the western land, but soon became encompassed by ice and incommoded by fogs. For three successive days they were closely immured by ice, notwithstanding they hoisted all their sails and the wind blew hard.

The men now, for the first time, began to murmur, thinking it impossible to advance or recede. The captain encouraged them to hope, by every persuasive argument; and, to keep them in spirits, made them drink a health to his majesty on the ice, while the ship stuck fast without a man on board.

James, however, began to feel the justice of their fears, and took the necessary steps to provide for the worst. On the 1st of August the ice began to heave a little; and on the 3d they observed a little open water to the north-westward. After much labour, they at last got disengaged; and on the 11th entered the Bay of Hubbard's Hope.

Standing to the southward, while it was hazy, they perceived some breakers ahead; and endeavouring to clear them, struck on the rocks, while their sails were flying and a fresh gale blowing. Every hand was immediately employed in furling the sails; and two or three heavy seas heaved the ship over the rocks, when they expected every instant to go to the bottom.

On the 20th they came to an anchor off a point of land, to which they gave the name of the New Principality of South Wales. Next day a storm arose, in which they had nearly lost their anchor; and several of the men were dangerously bruised by the dashing of the ship. The gunner's foot, being entangled in the cable, was wrung off at the ankle, and the master narrowly escaped breaking his leg.

On the 27th they anchored in five fathoms water,

near a high land, when the captain sent off the boat, well manned and armed, with instructions to return before sun-set. Night, however, approached, and no news of the boat. This gave the captain the greatest uneasiness. He began to suspect that the crew was either lost, or had fallen a prey to the savages. The prospect of those on board was as dreadful as imagination can form: there were not hands enough on board to weigh the anchor, or manage the sails; but at length, to the lively joy of all, the boat returned, and the crew excused their long absence, by declaring that a sudden ebb had obliged them to wait the return of the tide. They reported that they had discovered the tracts of deer and bears, and had seen many fowls, some of which they killed; that a considerable quantity of wood was growing on the land; but that they had been able to discover no traces of inhabitants.

Two days after, a ship was discovered about four leagues to the leeward, which proved to be a king's frigate, commanded by captain Fox. The usual salutes were exchanged. This vessel had sailed on discoveries in the spring of 1631, and had traced all the western bays discovered by former navigators. She returned in 1632, and the captain published a pompous detail of his discoveries; but his narrative was never much regarded.

Captain Fox and some of his officers paid his brother-adventurers a visit on board; and next morning sailed to the south-west. Those who have met in perilous and unexpected situations, will be best able to appretiate the pleasure of this interview.

To return to captain James. On the 3d of September he stood in for the shore, and arrived at a cape, to which he gave the appellation of Henrietta Maria, from the queen. Next day they encountered a violent storm of wind, lightning, snow and rain. The sea ran mountains high, washed over the deck, poured into the hold, and forced its way into the bread-room,

where it spoiled the greatest part of the provisions. This dreadful hurricane continued with unabated violence till the 5th in the evening.

They made an island, which the captain named Lord Weston's, on the 10th. It lies in latitude 53 deg. 5 min. north. Standing to the eastward, they next day came to another, on which they found neither vegetable nor animal.

On the 12th, in the morning, the wind blowing hard, the ship was negligently run upon the rocks; and a wreck appearing inevitable, the carpenter's tools and some other necessaries were sent on shore. In the meanwhile they endeavoured to lighten the vessel, by staving the water-casks and throwing some heavy articles overboard; but after continuing five hours striking violently on the rocks, to the astonishment of all, she got off, though in a very leaky condition.

It was now resolved to steer towards the bottom of Hudson's Bay, to explore a passage into the river of Canada; and, in case of failure, to winter on the main land, which was preferable to a rocky and insular station.

Another storm overtook them on the 14th, in which the shallop was totally lost. The ship had now only one boat left, and that in a very crazy condition. During the continuance of this dreadful visitation, every one thought of preparing for death; but that Providence which had so often saved them, again was conspicuous in their behalf.

On the 19th of September they anchored off the Earl of Bristol's Island; and while in this place the carpenter repaired the boat, and the captain went on shore, but found not the least vestige of a human creature ever having been there before. And now, finding that the wind seemed to be fixed in a northerly point, so that Hudson's Bay was not to be reached, they began to look out for some other more convenient wintering place. Some named Port Nelson; but the

captain objected to this, not only on account of the danger of the place itself, but the difficulty of reaching it through the ice. For this reason he determined to look out for some convenient creek to the southward.

After landing at different places, where nothing but famine stared them in the face, they at last reached Charlton Island, on the 7th of October, when it snowed so violently that they were forced to clear the deck with shovels, and the snow freezing over every part of the ship made her resemble a mass of ice. Next day the sun shone bright, but had no effect. Indeed the cold was now so intense that scarcely any thing could be preserved from freezing even by the fire side, and the sails became useless. The boat with great difficulty reached the shore; and the captain, seeing the winter set in so fast, ordered wood to be cut down and carried on board.

Having laid in as ample a supply of wood as the ship would contain, the sick were desirous of having a hut erected for them on shore, that they might the sooner recover their health. Having fixed on a convenient spot, the carpenter and others were set to work on the building. Meanwhile, the captain, with some attendants, ranged the island in quest of inhabitants, but found none; and returned exhausted with their travels through the snow.

On the 13th, some of the men desired leave to traverse the country; which being granted, they were furnished with ammunition, and strictly enjoined not to separate. They had it also in charge to look out for some convenient harbour for the ship. On the second day they returned with a small lean deer, and reported that they had seen several more, but no signs of any rational inhabitants, nor any port. In this excursion they spent a night in the woods, where they were almost perished with cold.

Soon after, the lieutenant and five more obtained leave to try their fortune in travelling about the island;

but though they wandered a great way, and staid out all night, they returned without having found any provisions; and, what was worse, they lost the gunner's mate. This unfortunate man, being weary with walking, attempted to cross a lake, that was apparently frozen over, to save himself the trouble of going round; but having reached the middle, the ice broke, and he was seen no more.

It now began to snow with such continued severity, that the boat could scarcely land, and the men were obliged to wade through thick congealed water. To obviate this inconvenience, the captain set the carpenter to construct a boat or sledge, that might be drawn on the ice, and used also where there was water. He likewise encouraged his men to make traps to catch foxes, some of which were daily seen; and as they had seen party-coloured ones, he concluded there were black foxes also, whose furs he supposed were valuable.

Captain James now took the latitude of the island, which he found to be 52 deg. north. Thus, notwithstanding the dreadful severity of the climate, this island is nearly in the latitude of London.

The hut took fire on the 12th, but was extinguished without much damage: however, the accident made them use care and vigilance in future. The weather being uncommonly severe, the captain staid on shore till the 17th; and when he went on board he found the ship fixed, and entirely incrusted with ice to the very rigging. His reflections were now gloomy enough: he had neither the hopes of saving the vessel, nor the probable assurance of being long able to endure the extremities to which they were reduced.

On the 22d, the gunner who had previously lost his leg by an accident paid the debt of nature. In such a climate it was impossible for a wound to heal: the plaister froze over it, and though he was lodged with all the care that circumstances would permit, and guarded from the cold, a bottle of sack, with which he was indulged, froze at his bed's head.

Next evening, the captain and all on board were alarmed by several pieces of ice driving against the hawser, which strained it considerably. In this dilemma the crew fired signals of distress, but those on shore were unable to render them any assistance. The ice, however, being but newly congealed, was at last broken through, and in a few hours disappeared.

To prevent accidents, the captain ordered all his men on board; and with much pain and difficulty they reached the ship. It was now resolved to run her aground, to preserve her as long as possible. This resolution being taken, a part of the bread and a barrel of beef were landed; and all the other stores, with the powder, were carried into the great cabin. The ship being driven on shore continued to beat with much violence, though she was bedded in sand; on which the captain ordered a hole to be bored in her bottom, and in six hours the water rose to such a height that it was momentarily expected she would open and break in pieces; but after having beat off her rudder, which was lost, she began to settle. The captain and crew had much difficulty to reach the shore; and when they landed, they were so altered by fatigue and an incrustation of ice, that they could scarcely recognize each others faces.

Having reached their solitary abode, they kindled a good fire, and regaled themselves with bread and melted snow. Their forlorn situation necessarily engaged their thoughts, and each was desired to speak his sentiments with freedom. The carpenter gave it as his opinion, that the ship was irrecoverably lost: but captain James thought otherwise; and in a speech fraught with piety and manly fortitude encouraged his people to keep up their spirits, in the hopes of yet reaching their native land; but adding, that if Providence had destined them to end their days where they were, they were still as near heaven as in England. On this Providence, that had so often saved them, he encouraged them to rely; and suggested, that if the

ship were lost, a pinnace might be made out of the wreck.

The carpenter gave his assurance, that no industry of his should be wanting to extricate them from their present difficulties, and the men all joined in offering their most active services to assist him. Captain James returned them all his due thanks, and promised considerable rewards to such as were most useful and industrious.

Next morning the captain got the surgeon to cut off his hair short, which became extremely troublesome from the icicles constantly attached to it. The crew, having followed his example, prepared for work.

The first object was to get the clothes and provisions on shore. It would be painful to record all the miseries they endured in this difficult service. After securing the best part of the necessaries on ship board, their next care was to stow them safely on shore, and to provide lodgings for the accommodation of the crew during the melancholy season they had to remain there. Two houses were erected, each twenty feet square, of trees, in the most convenient spot; and a storehouse was built at a little distance, to prevent accidents from fire. Every precaution was taken to render these apartments as commodious and comfortable as possible, and to fence against the severity of the climate.

Though they laboured with incessant application, it was impossible to remove all their stores from the ship before the cold increased to such a degree that every thing became immoveable, and the men were unable to venture out.

On the 21st of December the rigours of the cold confined them within; but on the 23d, they set out with a view of getting the boat on shore which had been dug out of the ice. Before noon, such a thick fog came on that it was with extreme difficulty they could find their way, or keep together. The darkness was deeper than that of night. At last they were all reassembled at the house; but in the most miserable

condition imaginable. Some of the men were covered with large blisters, proceeding from too hastily approaching the fire after being exposed to the cold; and all were much frost-bitten.

The well being now completely frozen up, snow water was of necessity used, both for drinking and dressing victuals. The insalubrity of this was soon perceptible. The captain, however, recollecting that he had seen a spring in the vicinity, at the foot of a hill, sent some men to try to discover it, which they happily did; and had the pleasure to find that it always ran with a full stream, and was never frozen so hard but that the ice might be broken.

At this time, all the sack, vinegar, oil, and every kind of liquid had become one solid mass, and were only to be broken by force; nor could they be kept in a fluid state at the distance of a yard from the fire.

About the commencement of the year, the snow fell so thick that it reached near the height of the roof of the house. The men were therefore obliged to cut a passage through it, and to keep that passage clear by daily shovelling away the fresh fallen snow. When this consolidated, it afforded what was denominated the captain's gallery and sick men's walk, the surface of it being a yard, at least, above the level of the ground.

The cold now became intolerably sharp. The atmosphere being full of vapours, made the sun and moon appear of an oblong figure when near the horizon. On the 31st of January, the sky was so clear that captain James could perceive, or imagined he perceived, two-thirds more stars than ever he had seen before; but the moon rising before midnight, three parts of them were lost in her lustre.

The sea freezes over every night two or three inches thick. The half flood generally breaks this congelation, and drives the flakes over each other, which immediately coalesce; and by this means the ice, in a few hours, becomes five or six feet thick; and the number of flakes and fields of ice are increased to that

degree, that the sea is entirely filled with them, and the water cools more and more every day, till at last it becomes almost insupportable. As a proof of this, when captain James's people waded in the sea, during the month of December, and the water froze on their legs, they did not feel it so sensibly as in the month of June.

In the month of February, that worst pest of mariners, the scurvy, began to make its appearance. Its dismal effects were soon bitterly felt by these unhappy men. They bled at the mouth, their gums were swollen, and sometimes black and putrid, and all their teeth were loose. In a word, their mouths were so much affected that they could no longer masticate their usual food.

Some complained of shooting pains in the head, others in the breast; some felt a weakness in their reins, others had pains in their thighs and knees, and the legs of several swelled. The surgeon was a man of the most amiable character, and endeavoured to alleviate the distresses of the crew by every known art; and made use of some expedients which the novelty of the situation suggested. But, notwithstanding all his care, two-thirds of the company were under his hands, and yet were obliged to labour hard, without shoes to their feet.

In the open air the cold was almost insupportable; no clothes being proof against it, nor any exercise sufficient to keep up the natural warmth. It froze the eye-lashes, so that it was impossible to see; and the difficulty of respiration became extreme, from the coldness of the air. In the woods, the cold was somewhat less severe, yet here the men were afflicted with chilblains on their faces, hands, and feet. Even withinside the house every thing was frozen and hung full of icicles. The bedding was quite stiff, and covered with hoar frost, though the beds were almost close to the fire. The water, in which the cook soaked the salt meat, within doors, froze within three feet of the fire. But during the night, when the fire was neg-

glected, all was frozen into one lump in four hours' time. When afterwards the cook soaked the meat in a copper kettle, close to the fire, to prevent it from freezing, the side near the fire was found to be warm, while the opposite side was frozen an inch thick.

Such are the general traits of a winter in this inhospitable climate. To enumerate all the sufferings of each individual of captain James's company would be impossible, for every day was a period of suffering. During the whole winter they did not catch above a dozen foxes, some of which were dead in the traps long before they were discovered, and therefore useless; but whenever one was taken alive, he was boiled to make broth for the sick, and the flesh was likewise appropriated for their use. A very few white partridges were also procured.

The 1st of April, being Easter-day, was solemnized in a religious manner. Both that and the two succeeding days were excessively severe, so that the company were confined within, and employed themselves in reasoning on their situation and prospects. The carpenter had for some time been so feeble, from illness, that he was obliged to be led to his work, which he had seduloutly forwarded as long as able. But he was now incapable of further exertion: several more were in the same situation; others were very infirm; and of the whole crew, only five cou'd eat their ordinary allowance.

The season of the year on which all their hopes depended came on apace; and yet the cold was little abated. The pinnace, notwithstanding the painful labours of the carpenter, was unfinished; and they all supposed that the ship must be irrecoverably lost. In short, after a variety of opinions were given as to the mode of their future proceedings, and many reflections had passed on their present misery, the captain resolved, that it would be most advisable to attempt to clear the ship as soon as the weather would permit. Accordingly, the men who were able began with bars

and shovels to dig the ice, and to lay it in such a manner as to form a barricado round her, to prevent her from being wholly overset by floating ice.

The 16th of April was one of the most pleasant days they had seen. They cleared the ship's deck of snow; and had the good fortune to discover the anchor. On the 19th, the weather was so much meliorated, that the master and two others requested permission to sleep on board, that they might be removed from the groans and lamentations of their sick companions.

The greatest part of April was spent in stopping the leaks of the ship and repairing her other damages. In freeing her from ice and snow, the men laboured with such alacrity and success, that by the 28th the pumps were set free. On the 29th it rained, which was a day of joy, as it afforded a certain indication that the winter was beginning to break. The two following days were very severe; but the late rain had given the men such spirits that they sat round the fire on May eve, and amused themselves with choosing mistresses, and wearing their names in their caps.

The thaw increasing, on the 4th of May some cranes and geese made their appearance; but though the captain and surgeon wearied themselves in trying to kill some for the use of the sick, they returned without success.

On the 9th, they heaved out of the hold four butts of beer and one of cyder, which had kept in great perfection under the water. Same day they recovered five barrels of beef and pork; and by successive efforts procured other useful articles, such as shoes, which were extremely wanted.

Some days were now employed in refitting the ship, in which they could find no visible defect; and therefore they hoped she might be righted.

The sick increased in number, and their disorders in malignity. Attempts to procure them refreshments of fowl had hitherto been vain; and now the captain ordered a small plot of ground to be sown with peas,

in hopes of having some green vegetables. To the great grief of all the crew, William Cole, the carpenter, died on the 18th. He was a man much beloved, and of great skill in his profession. He had nearly completed a pinnace of twelve or thirteen tons burthen, in case the ship should prove unserviceable. He had exhausted himself for the benefit of others. As the master was returning from his funeral obsequies, he discovered the body of the gunner under the gun-room ports, though he had been committed to the sea at a considerable distance. The corpse had no disagreeable smell, and the flesh slipped up and down upon the bones like a glove. He was now interred by the side of the carpenter.

Towards the end of May the weather became very hot by day, and there were symptoms of the ice parting. Joy now appeared in every countenance; and, as if Heaven had ordered that their hopes should not be dashed, the rudder was accidentally found, and brought on board. All returned thanks to the Supreme for his gracious protection.

The sea being pretty clear between the ship and the shore, on the 30th they launched their boat. Next day they found some green leaves of vetches, which they boiled for the sick; and indeed almost all might have come under this description; for, except the captain and another, not a man could eat salt provisions. These vetches, however, proved a wonderful restorative; and in a short time, by using them freely in all forms of diet, those who had not been able to stir for many weeks took a part in the duty of the ship.

About the middle of June the weather became so hot that the men took to bathing. Insects became numerous and tormenting, particularly musketoes. These revived, with the hot weather, from the torpidity in which they had lain during the brumal season, and covered the earth in immense varieties.

Having previously dug the sand from the sides of the ship, and sufficiently lightened her, they took the ad-

vantage of some high tides, and once more had the pleasure of seeing her swim in deep water.

The captain having caused a very large tree to be formed into a cross, affixed to it the pictures of king Charles I. and his queen, closely wrapped in lead, so as to be defended from the external air; and between the effigies placed the subsequent inscription: "Charles, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, also of Newfoundland, and the territories to the westward as far as New Albion, and northward to the latitude of 80 deg. &c." On the outside of the lead he nailed a shilling and a sixpence of that reign, and under, his majesty's arms, with the arms of the city of Bristol below. On Midsummer-day this cross was erected on the hill where the crew had buried their deceased companions; so that it served the double purpose of denoting possession and of being a funeral monument.

Next morning the boatswain began to rig the ship, and the men were employed in getting necessaries on board. Meanwhile the captain, with an attendant, went to the highest eminence of the island, on which was a lofty tree, called the watch-tower, to kindle a fire, in expectation that if there were any human beings in the neighbouring islands, they would make a corresponding signal; and enable him to visit them, and obtain some intelligence. As the captain was climbing up the watch tree, his attendant rashly set fire to some low trees to windward, which immediately were in a blaze; and the conflagration spread from tree to tree, with such rapidity, that the captain had some difficulty in quitting his station before the fire was at the root of the tree, and advancing upwards. He leaped off, and ran with the utmost speed down the hill; but the fire pursued him so closely, that his speed had like to have been ineffectual. Every thing being dried to tinder, the trees, the moss, caught in an instant; and the flame ran along the ground as if a train had been laid.

Early next morning the powder was carried on

board, and the captain, after a restless night, sent to examine the progress of the conflagration. It was soon perceived to be spreading, with horrid devastation, to the northward and westward. A person was left to watch it; and every preparation was made to save the materials on shore, in case it should take the direction of the houses and the ship. About noon, the wind having shifted, the sentinel returned out of breath, with the alarming news that the fire was close at his heels. All was now bustle and activity. The fire advanced towards them with a terrible noise, being a full mile in breadth; and scarcely had they time to remove the last articles of value from their town, as they termed it, before the flame laid hold of it, and soon laid it in ashes. The wind then shifted to another quarter, consuming all before it.

The men being all safe on board, returned thanks to Heaven, with great solemnity, for their deliverance from the devouring element, more dreadful than the seas and storms.

A few days after, the bay was quite clear of ice, and the climate began to prove very unwholesome. The heat of the sun, reflected from a sandy soil, was almost insupportable; yet, so sudden was the transition from one extreme to another, that ice, an inch thick, covered every pool at night.

On the 1st of July, the captain had the ship decorated in the best manner circumstances would allow. After which he prepared a brief statement of their past toils and future intentions; with a request, that in case they should perish, this memorial of their labours might be made public by any adventurers who might touch there. This notification he sent ashore with much formality, ordering it to be affixed to the cross, which being surrounded by a sandy steril soil, had escaped the conflagration.

This done, they ascended the highest hills, and found that the fire had spread about sixteen miles to the westward, and the whole breadth of the island.

As the captain was walking along the beach, in the evening, he discovered a herb resembling scurvy grass, of which having gathered and boiled some, it was found a most agreeable food. A considerable quantity was collected after supper, on purpose to carry away with them.

Assembling to take a last view of the graves of their companions, they left the spot with the feelings of nature, and the hopes of never more setting a foot on the island.

We ought to remark, that arctic trees, such as spruce and juniper, some low shrubs and moss, were the principal vegetable productions of the place; nor did it appear, at the most favourable season, to abound in any useful animals or fowls.

On the 2d of July they stood for Danby Island, to take in more wood, and to be ready to seize the first fair wind. The ship appeared in tolerable repair; the men in as good health as could be expected; and a considerable stock of provisions was still remaining.

On their arrival at Danby Island some of the people discovered stakes driven into the ground, which evidently appeared to have been pointed by some tool. This gave the captain hopes that some natives might be found; but none existed or could be traced out.

From the 5th to the 22d, they were dreadfully embarrassed by ice, and blinded by fogs; and amid these incessant dangers to which they were exposed, the captain heard his men congratulating those who were no more; since it seemed they were destined to starve on a fragment of ice, or be swallowed up in the deep. The captain temporized, and only exhorted them to patience.

They now came in sight of land, which they recognized to be Cape Henrietta Maria; and anchoring in six fathoms water, about a mile from the shore, and hoisting out the boat, landed with some dogs and guns on an eminence, where they took possession. Soon after they saw some deer, but could not come within reach of them. However, they procured about a

dozen young geese on the pools, a poor compensation for the toils they had gone through to obtain more ample refreshments. As the dogs could not distance the deer, which were the object of their pursuit, they were left on shore to learn fleetness or starve.

Same evening they weighed, with an intention of weathering the Cape; and it being moonlight, they proceeded for some time among broken masses of ice, till they found it necessary to anchor, and endeavour, by every possible means, to keep off the danger. As day approached, they saw all means of extricating themselves were useless, and in the extremity of danger and distress they continued some weeks, till the ship became so battered and leaky that she was obliged to be pumped every half watch.

The captain now called a council, to determine what was to be done: when it was the general opinion, that it was impossible to proceed. James then adopted the dangerous resolution of watching the opportunity of sailing between the ice and a shoaly coast; which, at last, he put in execution.

On the 1st of August they had another conflict with the ice; and the wind proving contrary, they came to an anchor near the shore. For some succeeding days they were inclosed more and more. On the 5th at noon, they were only twelve leagues distance from Cape Henrietta Maria, which was all they had gained since the 22d of July. All night it blew a violent storm, and the ship beat in a dreadful manner from piece to piece.

On the 7th, the weather became more moderate, and the wind shifting to the east, carried them into open water. Their dangers, however, were not passed. The wind soon changing drove a range of ice towards them, and in a little time they were again surrounded by it. As soon as they recovered from one distress, they were involved in another; and it was not till the 19th of August that they surmounted the imminent dangers to which they had been exposed for six weeks successively.

The captain now resumed his design of prosecuting his voyage, and examined the inlets which had been supposed by former navigators to afford the most probable passage into the South Seas. On the 24th he made Nottingham Island; but early in the evening it began to blow a strong gale, which soon increased to a storm, and continued without abatement for twenty-four hours. Very early in the morning of the 26th, they perceived, by moonlight, the ship embayed in ice; and before they could stay her, she struck upon it with great violence. Daylight brought the dismal prospect of fields and hills of ice, as far as the eye could reach, in the quarter where they intended to sail.

The captain, at last, began to feel that all his efforts would be vain. He therefore consulted with his officers; and that no blame might be imputed to him, obtained their sentiments in writing; which were, that no advantage could be expected from continuing longer in these seas, and that they ought immediately to direct their course for England.

Thither the pilot was ordered to steer; and after being lost in fogs, and harassed by snow and ice, in the beginning of September they cleared the Straits, after passing by mountains of ice of superior magnitude to any they had yet seen. On the 8th, they had stormy weather, and the ship rolled excessively, and all her seams gaped. However, after this they saw no more ice; and the wind being propitious, they reached Bristol Road, without any further accident, on the 22d of October.

The ship being put into dock, it appeared miraculous that she had lived; for on examination it was found that she had lost fourteen feet of her keel; all her cut-water, and the greatest part of her sheathing were beaten and torn away; her bows were bruised and broken, many of her timbers cracked; and in one place the rocks had nearly made a perforation.

Thus ended a voyage which, for perils, constancy, and resolution, is scarcely to be paralleled.

Captain James, on his return, modestly stated his opinion, that a north-west passage did not exist. He founded his reasons on these circumstances; that a tide constantly sets into Hudson's Straits, the flood coming from the eastward. The ice, he conceives, would certainly be broken and disjunct, if the free ocean were beyond it, as he found to be the case in passing from the straits into the sea, eastward. And lastly, he observed that the ice always finds an outlet by the eastward. Such are the reasons he gives for the non-existence of a passage; and supposing it actually did exist, he gives valid objections against its ever being used with security or advantage. The multiplicity of dangerous ice and shoals renders it unfit for a large and valuable ship to attempt the navigation; and besides, one thousand leagues may be sooner, and more safely made by the southward, than one hundred in this direction. Add to this, that here there are no opportunities of recruiting the sick; and nothing but danger and desolation to be expected.

To the validity of these arguments we entirely subscribe; but the history of the voyage which we are just about to give (that the connection may not be broken, though the chronological order must necessarily be violated) will prove that James's sentiments, however just, were far from being universally convincing.

VOYAGE OF

CAPTAIN HENRY ELLIS,

FOR THE

DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE

TO

THE SOUTH SEAS.

THE Hudson Bay Company, though bound by charter to further and promote the discovery of a north-west passage, were generally suspected, from interested motives, to oppose and discourage every attempt for its accomplishment. And captain Middleton, who in 1740 was sent in a king's ship expressly upon that service, returning without success, was publicly criminated for having accepted a bribe of five thousand pounds to defeat the undertaking, and, by a partial report, to put an end to future attempts. This charge was strongly supported, and generally credited: and Mr. Dobbs, by whose interest captain Middleton had been employed, prevailed with the then ministry, to preclude any future scheme of private corruption, by proposing a public reward of twenty thousand pounds to the person who should make a perfect discovery of the passage in question.

Such was the liberal encouragement held out by government for the discovery of the long desired communication between the North and South Seas: and the fair prospect of acquiring fame, by extending commerce; the hope of obtaining the parliamentary reward, and of exposing the disingenuity of captain Middleton, were sufficient incitements to prevail with

Mr. Dobbs to solicit the equipment of two ships for another voyage, which, he made not the least doubt, would answer the most sanguine expectations of the patrons of the scheme.

Accordingly the Dobbs galley, of one hundred and eighty tons, commanded by captain Moor; and the California, of one hundred and forty, captain Henry Smith, were fitted out; and supplied with every thing that experience and liberality could suggest for the success of the enterprise. Very ample encouragement was held out to the captains and other officers; and captain Henry Ellis was appointed supercargo, with a commission to make draughts of the new-discovered countries, and to collect and digest accounts of natural and artificial curiosities within the scope of his observation.

The ships sailed from Gravesend on the 20th of May 1746, and steering by the east coast of England, passed the islands on the north of Scotland. Nothing occurred beyond the usual circumstances of navigation till the 21st of June, when a terrible fire broke out in the great cabin of the Dobbs, and quickly advanced to the powder-room, where there were not less than thirty barrels of gun-powder, exclusive of other combustibles.

It is impossible to describe the consternation and confusion that prevailed on this dilemma. Every person on board expected a momentary destruction. All the varieties of naval eloquence were displayed on this awful occasion: cries, prayers, imprecations and abuse were poured out; yet some were cool amid the danger, and neglected no precaution in their power. Water in great abundance was well directed, and every other preventative used by such as were masters of themselves.

As to the crew in general, their terror rendered them irresolute. They flew from one expedient to another, which one moment they attempted to execute and the next abandoned in distraction and despair. Some were for hoisting out the boats, and accordingly

the lashings were cut, but none had patience to launch them; others were for setting more sail, in order to overtake the California, which was considerably ahead, that in case of being blown up the survivors might have some chance of relief. Chimerical as this was, the plan was partially adopted. In the midst of this dreadful alarm, the man at the helm, reflecting that the fire and powder were directly under him, was quite distracted, and negligent of his duty; nor can imagination paint a wilder scene than was universally exhibited. The ship was ahead to the wind, the sails shaking with a noise like thunder; she then turned and ran right before it, and continued rolling; while the blast was instantly expected that was to terminate their hopes and fears. Providentially, however, the fire was at length extinguished; and it is unnecessary to express the lively emotions that a certainty of this diffused in every breast.

On the 27th they fell in with quantities of low ice, and for some time after passed through abundance of drift wood. The 6th of July brought the ships in contact with those mountains of ice which bound Hudson's Straits. These enormous masses were five or six hundred yards thick. On the 8th they made the Islands of Resolution, in the mouth of the Straits, when the fogs suddenly clearing up, saved them from the impending danger of being dashed on shore or wrecked on the rocks.

At these islands, several canoes with Esquimaux Indians on board came off to trade; exchanging whalebone and seal skins for ironmongery goods. The traffic was attended with considerable profit to the English; and so eager were these poor savages to obtain knives and other articles of cutlery, that both men and women almost stripped themselves naked, to make as extensive purchases as possible.

We are told that the word Esquimaux is derived from an Indian term, signifying an eater of raw flesh, to which is joined a French termination. Indeed, they

are said to be the only nation hitherto known that eat animal flesh absolutely raw; and this, with the appendage of beards, shows that they are not of the aboriginal stock, as the American Indians. They are therefore most probably of Greenlandish origin. In size they reach the middle height, are robust, and somewhat inclined to corpulency. They have large heads; round, fat, and swarthy faces; small, black, and sparkling eyes; flat noses; thick lips; black, lank hair; broad shoulders, and clumsy limbs; but their feet are disproportionably small.

Their manners are cheerful and sprightly; but in disposition they are subtle, deceitful, flatterers, and addicted to pilfering; timid when opposed, but presuming where they are indulged. To their native customs they show a most rooted partiality; and even when separated in the earliest youth from their connections, and brought up in European habits, they have long shown a predilection for their original attachments. One of them, after being fed on English diet, being present when one of our countrymen was cutting up a seal, from which the oil ran in copious streams, licked up what he could save with his hands, exclaiming, "Oh! commend me to my own dear country, where I could get a bellyful of this."

The men are generally clothed in seal skins, and sometimes in the skins of fowls sewed together. Each coat has a hood like a capuchin. The coat is close from the breast before, like a shirt, and reaches no lower than the middle of the thigh; the breeches are close before and behind, and drawn round the waist with a string They wear several pairs of boots and shoes, one over the other.

The dress of the women differs from that of the men, chiefly in having a narrow flap behind, depending to the heels. Their hoods are also larger, for the purpose of carrying their children at their backs, and their boots are also wider; because when they want to put a child out of their arms, they slip it into one of

their boots occasionally. Some few of them wear shifts of seals' bladders, curiously joined. In general, their clothes are neatly sewed, which they perform with an ivory needle, and the sinews of deer finely divided. They discover much taste in facings and embroidery of different coloured skins.

One of their most curious appendages is their snow eyes. These are bits of wood or ivory, neatly contrived to cover the organs of sight, and tied at the back of the head: in each piece are two narrow slits of corresponding length with the eyes, through which they see very distinctly. This useful invention preserves them from being blinded with the glare of the snow, which is equally painful and inconvenient. The use too of these auxiliaries wonderfully strengthens the sight, and becomes so habitual, that when a distant object is to be viewed, these snow eyes are employed as telescopes.

The same spirit of invention is conspicuous in their fishing and fowling implements, and their military weapons are not contemptibly executed. In the management of their canoes they are very dexterous. These are constructed in a manner very suitable to their occasions, easy of transportation, and quick in motion. Their frames are made of wood or whalebone, covered all over with seal-skin parchment to prevent the water running in, except a hole in the middle edged with whalebone, large enough to receive the steersman. In these boats they carry their little conveniencies for fishing or killing the large animals with which their seas abound. Their harpoons, used in striking whales, are headed and pointed with sea-horse teeth. To the barb is fastened a thong, at the extremity of which is a blown bladder, which serves as a buoy. When the whale is at last overcome and breathless, they tow him ashore and strip him of the fat, which serves both for food and light in their long wintry season.

The Esquimaux have likewise boats of a larger size and a different construction, generally rowed by women, and capable of carrying twenty persons.

The ships falling in with very large masses of ice, by the 17th, made fast to some of them, and filled the empty casks with fresh water out of the pools generally found at this season in their cavities. Two days after, the ice parting, they proceeded under easy sail, and at length reached Marble Island, from which the long-boats of each ship were sent by captain Ellis, under the command of the mates, to make observations on the tides, and to collect such other lights as might facilitate the execution of the main design. Several considerable openings were discovered to the westward of the island; and it was found that the tide came from the north-east, the course of the coast.

A council being held on the 16th of August, it was agreed to defer any further attempt at discovery till the ensuing summer, and to steer to Port Nelson, as being the most eligible situation in Hudson's Bay, both for the temperature of its climate and the abundance of its supplies.

The centre of Marble Island lies in 62 deg. 55 min. north latitude; and 92 deg. west longitude. Its greatest length is six leagues, and its common breadth is under one. At the western extremity the land is high, but sinks at the east. The land is one continued rock of a hard whitish marble, sprinkled with various coloured spots.

The tops of the hills exhibit a volcanic appearance, being rent and shattered in a surprising manner; and from some of their caverns issues a noise resembling the rolling of waves. From the impregnated state of the water, it is probable that copper and other ores are lodged here. The valleys have a shallow soil of turf, but little herbage. The pools are covered with fowl of different kinds, and deer are pretty numerous.

The only harbour is on the south-west part of the island, which, though difficult of entrance, is capacious enough to contain one hundred sail.

The weather was very unfavourable during the passage to Port Nelson. They arrived in sight of the dangerous shoals of that river on the 25th of August; and next day attempted to pass the flats of Hayes's River, which the California safely effected; but the Dobbs ran aground, and had it blown hard must have inevitably been lost. In this distressing situation, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company had the inhumanity to order the beacon to be cut down, that the captain of the Dobbs might be still more at a loss how to proceed, should the ship be got afloat. However, in spite of obstacles, the ship at last was safely anchored by her consort.

It being the intention of captain Ellis to winter here, the boats of both ships were sent to examine the river, which is navigable for many leagues, and has a communication with the Canadian lakes. Hence its advantageous situation for trade is apparent. Its banks are low, and covered with thick woods of spruce, fir, poplar, birch, larch, and willow; and are well stocked with deer, hares, rabbits, and many valuable kinds of fowl.

As it was impossible to spend the winter in such a climate without making due preparations for encountering its severity, captain Ellis now turned his attention to the best mode of fencing against its effects. The sailors were employed in the construction of long tents for themselves. These were made of trees, cut about sixteen feet long, raised close together, and meeting each other at top in an angle, like the roof of a house. The interstices between the logs were stuffed with moss; and the whole being plaistered over, made a comfortable hut. The door was low and small, and an aperture in the middle served as an outlet for the smoke.

These erections were soon dispatched; but some-

thing more commodious was wanted for the officers. A situation equally pleasant and convenient was chosen for their habitation. It was an eminence surrounded with trees, the main river distant about half a mile, and about one hundred and fifty yards from the front lay Beaver Creek, a handsome bason of water, which in prospect resembled a grand canal. The site was protected from the most inclement winds by thick and lofty woods.

This spot being fixed on, captain Ellis drew a plan of the intended mansion, which was approved of. The house was twenty-eight feet long, and eighteen wide; it consisted of one story, the lower rooms six, and the upper seven feet high; the upper rooms were allotted to the captains and some of the principal officers, and the lower to the subalterns and servants. The door was in the middle of the front, and a stove was placed in the centre of the building, that every person might equally partake of its heat.

By the time that this structure was completed, Hayes's river was frozen quite hard; and the early indications of what was to be expected from a Hudson's Bay river began to appear. About the beginning of November, the ink froze by the fire, and the bottled beer, though well packed in tow, and in a warm situation, soon became a solid mass. On the 6th, the cold became insupportable abroad; and therefore both officers and men repaired to their respective winter quarters. The officers named their mansion Montague House, in honour of the duke of Montague, one of the patrons of the expedition.

Before they left England, every provision had been made to have dresses suitable to the climate, and about this time it became necessary to have recourse to them. The men when equipped in their brumal garb found themselves able to withstand the keenest cold; and having no other avocation, employed all their skill and industry in sporting. A good marksman sometimes killed sixty partridges in a day. Rabbits

were caught in great numbers, and animals of the fur kind were, taken by different lures. The beaver is commonly secured by nets. The value of its fur is well known; but it is less generally known that the flesh is fat, and esteemed delicious.

During the month of November, when the wind blew from the south or west, the cold was very supportable; but on its changing to the northward, it immediately became excessively sharp, and was frequently attended by a kind of granulated snow, which drifting from the plains filled up every path, and rendered it impossible to see at twenty yards distance.

The intensity of cold, however, was seldom felt here above four or five days in a month, and that generally about the full and change of the moon, which have a great influence on the weather in this quarter.

While rabbits and game were plentiful, little of the ship provisions were used. When the severity of the weather rendered sporting inconvenient, and animals began to shun the vicinity of their destroyers, provisions were weekly conveyed from the ships on sledges drawn by men or dogs. The dogs in this country, indeed, are the only beasts of burden; they are about the size of mastiffs; they growl when provoked, but never bark; and are very docile and useful animals. They are capable of drawing more, and for a longer distance, than men; but require that their guides should beat a path for them with their snow shoes.

The festivities of Christmas were not neglected. During this period of mirth, captain Moor proposed to lengthen, raise, and deck the long-boat, to facilitate the attempts at discovery; and indeed without such an expedient it would have been impossible to navigate creeks and shoals where a communication was suspected. His plan was adopted; and the boat was placed in such a situation that the carpenters might

conveniently work on her, without interruption from the cold or change of the atmosphere.

The coasts of this country extend from 51 to 58 deg. north latitude, having Hudson's Bay to the east and Canada to the south; but the boundaries to the west and north are not yet ascertained. In the southern parts, where captain Ellis wintered, the soil is fertile, consisting of loose dark mould bedded in clay of different colours. In the proximity of the shore, the land is low and marshy, and covered with various trees; within land are extensive plains, principally covered with moss. There are a great variety of shrubs of the berry kind, and some plants of high medicinal repute. That which is known by the Indian name of Wizzekapukka is much esteemed, both by the natives and the English, as a sovereign remedy in nervous and scorbutic disorders. By the sides of the lakes and rivers wild rice grows spontaneously in large quantities. At the English factories horticulture has made considerable progress, and with no small success, considering the climate. Beans, pease, turnips, and several kinds of sallad are produced in their gardens at Fort York, Albany, and Moose River.

Minerals are unquestionably numerous here. Captain Ellis met with iron ore and copper. He found olso talcs, spars, and rock crystals, both red and white, of great beauty. The abestos, or stone flax, is common here; as is also a black smooth laminous stone, which easily separates into thin transparent leaves, and supplies the place of mirrors. The country likewise abonds with marble of several varieties.

Captain Ellis frequently observed parhelia, or mock suns, and halos about the sun and moon, extremely luminous, and beautifully tinged with all the colours of the rainbow. Six of these parhelia were seen at once. The true sun also rises and sets with a large cone of yellow light perpendicular to the disk; and no sooner does he disappear, than the aurora borealis diffuses a thou-

sand different lights and colours over the whole concavity of heaven, with such resplendent beauty, that even the full moon cannot eclipse their lustre. The stars seem to burn with a fiery red, especially those which are near the horizon.

When the severity of winter had reached its greatest height, notwithstanding very large fires were constantly kept up, if a door or window was but opened, the external air rushing in, instantly converted the smoke and vapour into small snow; nor could the greatest heat that could be raised keep the walls free from ice. The breath settled in a hoar-frost upon the blankets, and whatever touched the walls became congealed.

Strong brine, brandy, and even spirits of wine froze; the latter, to a consistence like oil. All liquors under proof became perfectly solid, and burst the vessels of whatever they were made. Game kept perfectly sweet, without the use of salt, from October till April; it froze the instant it was killed, and did not begin to melt during that long interval.

Naturalists need not be told that in this country hares, rabbits and partridges assume the colour of snow in winter, and that Providence has furnished the animals with extraordinary furs, to resist the cold, which fall off as the warm weather advances.

In touching iron or any smooth solid surface, it was usual for the fingers to be frozen to it. If, in drinking brandy or other liquor, the tongue or lips were suffered to come in close contact with the glass, the skin was usually left upon it. One of the sailors carrying a bottle of spirits from Montague House to his log tent, having lost the cork, stopped it with his finger; but when he wished to withdraw it, found it impossible; and he was obliged to lose a joint, to make the cure practicable. Even solid bodies acquired such a degree of cold as to resist the effects of heat for a considerable time. An ax, long exposed to the frost, on being brought close to the fire, and having water

poured upon it, has been instantly formed into a cake of ice.

The beer casks were buried twelve feet deep in the earth, and well bedded in grass; yet some of them were frozen and burst. Others again were found to contain a solid mass of ice, of some thickness from their sides; the spirituous part of the liquor being driven to the centre, where it remained fluid, and acquired an extraordinary degree of strength.

From this description, it might be supposed that this country was the most uncomfortable in the world, and the inhabitants the most unhappy; but this is far from being the case Wherever man is placed, he has conveniences suited to his condition and nature; and the natives of the hyperborean regions have their share of enjoyments as well as those who are denizens of the most favoured climes.

The natives of this country are of the middle stature, their eyes and hair are black, and their complexion copper-coloured. In disposition they are cheerful, good-humoured, affable, friendly, and honest in their transactions.

In the warm season the men wear a loose dress of coarse blanketing, and leather stockings which reach so high as to supply the place of breeches. The habit of the women differs chiefly from that of the men in a short petticoat. The winter dress is made of furs, in which the country abounds.

Removed from luxuries, their diseases are few, except those introduced by drinking; and this has had such a deleterious effect on the inhabitants who are within the reach of the English settlements, that their very looks, size, and activity, are diminished by it. The French refuse to sell any liquors to them; and, such as trade with them are distinguished, in consequence of this salutary forbearance, by vigour and industry, which redounds at once to the credit and advantage of that nation.

They live in circular tents covered with moose and

rein-deer skins sewed together; and as their time is chiefly spent in hunting, fowling, and fishing, they change their residence according as circumstances operate on the plenty or scarcity of their game. In their behaviour they are influenced by the principles of a natural rectitude, which restrains them from flagrant vices more strongly than the most rigorous laws.

The chiefs of every family or tribe are generally those who are most celebrated for experience and venerable for age; but their commands are rather obeyed through deference than obligation, and their power is supported by love, unaided by the engines of fear.

As these people place no dependence for support on the fruits of the earth, agriculture is almost unknown; and their principal activity is displayed in hunting, which is both the source of subsistence and of wealth. Every season they make a prodigious slaughter of the deer, from the absurd belief, that the more they destroy, the greater plenty will succeed. Hence they frequently kill them for no other purpose than to answer this fancied purpose, and to feast on their tongues, which are esteemed the greatest dainties.

On migratory birds, such as swans, geese, and ducks, they make great havock; and likewise feed freely on the stationary fowls of the country. They generally boil the flesh, and eat it by itself; drinking the water in which it is sodden, which is reputed wholesome. In a similar manner they dress and eat their fish.

The rivers and lakes are stored with sturgeon, pike, and trout; besides two delicious kinds of fish, one called titymag, the other muthoy. The latter is spotted with yellow and white; and in shape resembles an eel. At the estuaries of rivers are plenty of salmon, and a fish resembling a carp.

The customs of these Indians are not very gallant. It is reckoned a high affront for a woman to step over the legs of a man; nor will they deign to drink out of

the same vessel with their wives. Every country has its peculiar absurdities; and when these do not run counter to humanity and morals, they are at least venial. One custom, however, we must notice with horror and execration. When parents become enfeebled by age, and unable to support themselves, it is esteemed an act of duty in their children to strangle them. This shocking rite of savage duty is performed in the following manner: the old person's grave is dug, into which he voluntarily descends; and after smoking a pipe, or perhaps drinking a dram or two, and conversing with his children, he intimates that he is ready to submit to his fate. On this, two of them put a thong about his neck, and standing on opposite sides of the grave, pull violently till he is strangled. They then cover him with earth, and erect a rude monument of stones over the spot.

Such old people as have no children require this last office from the hands of their friends; and it is thought uncharitable to refuse them. In a country where labour is essentially necessary for individual subsistence, and where the mild precepts of a benevolent religion are unknown, it is not much to be wondered at, that an useless or overgrown population should be esteemed a misfortune. For this reason, they cruelly oblige their women to procure abortions, when their family is likely to be too numerous. Shocking as this practice must appear to every humane mind, it is mercy itself, compared to the barbarous custom, still prevalent among the civilized Chinese, of exposing their children.

Their religion consists in the belief of a Being of infinite goodness, whom they style Ukkewma, the author of all their blessings, in whose honour they sing hymns of praise. They also acknowledge another being, whom they call Wiltikka, the source of evil, and therefore the object of terror.

Though constant toil is necessary to sustain life, they have very little foresight, and generally wanton away

the happy days of summer in a gay indifference. Thus winter often finds them unprovided with any stores, save a little dried venison and fish. Comforts are doled out to them with such a frugal hand, that they seem determined to lose no present enjoyment by the painful anticipation of the future.

The Indians who resort to the European factories in summer, for the purposes of traffic, are sometimes in their journeys reduced to the miserable expedient of singeing off the fur from their skins, and feeding on the leather. But amidst these extremities, they preserve a degree of equanimity which it is much easier to admire than to imitate.

Cold, severe as it is, in these long migrations, when undertaken in winter, is sometimes the slightest evil they experience. A story is related at the factories, and known to be true, which curdles the blood with horror. An Indian coming from a great distance to trade, had the misfortune to meet with little game by the way, and was soon, with his wife and children, reduced to the last distress. They plucked the fur from their clothes; and, as long as they were able, preserved life by feeding on the skins; but this wretched resource failing, they were driven to the dreadful expedient of devouring two of their helpless children. On their arrival at the factory, the distracted Indians, whose hearts were torn with anguish, told this melancholy tale with all its affecting circumstances to the English governor, who, to the disgrace of his nation, and even of human nature itself, received it with a loud laugh. The unhappy parent, with looks of amazement mingled with contempt, exclaimed, in broken English, "This is no laughing talk!" and instantly retired, to vent the feelings of humanity.

To return to the affairs of the expedition. Christmas, it has been observed, was joyfully solemnized, and mirth unfortunately was mixed with intemperance. The men, who till now had been very healthy, by indulging too freely in the use of spirituous liquors were

soon invaded by the scurvy. The usual antidotes proved ineffectual; and tar-water, at that time in vogue, was found to be the only powerful and salutary medicine.

The English who generally reside here are little affected by this cruel disease, which they attribute chiefly to the constant use of spruce beer.

The whole month of January was unremittingly severe. Towards the middle of February the weather began to relax a little; and about the conclusion of that month, orders were given to cut the ice round the ships, which was performed with chissels and pick-axes. The guns and weighty articles were now landed, that the ships might float the easier as soon as the ice broke. March afforded a variety of weather: the snow melted in a sunny exposure; and towards the end of that month some herbage began to peep out on banks fronting the south. The rivers and plains began to be covered with water; and the commanders had some apprehension that the ships might be endangered by a sudden thaw; to prevent which, every precaution was used, and a sufficient number of men, with proper officers, were put on board But April opened in such a manner as allayed their fears in this respect. The ice gradually melted away, and abundance of wild fowl revisited their forsaken haunts. Flights of small birds made their appearance. Their plumage indeed is not very beautiful, but the harmony of their notes enlivened the gloomy scene.

The weather however, was alternately sharp, stormy, and moderate, without settling till about the 6th of May, when it became temperate, and the creek where the ships lay, imperceptibly free from ice. The long-boat, which by way of distinction was called the Resolution, being equipped in the style intended, was now launched; and on the 9th of June the ships fell down the river as far as the factory of York Fort, in order to proceed to sea.

York Fort is situated on the southern branch of

Port Nelson river, in a small plain environed on three sides by woods, but open to the water. To the savages, it has a formidable appearance; but would not be tenable against a regular attack.

On the 24th of June captain Ellis weighed anchor, and, passing the shoals, stood to the northward with a fair wind. The next day they fell in with much broken ice; but avoided the most dangerous masses by keeping close in with the shore.

The succeeding day, the Resolution came alongside of the Dobbs, and took in sufficient stores for the use of ten men for two months; when captains Ellis and Moor went on board, in order to examine the coasts. The Dobbs was ordered to wait at Marble Island till joined by the Resolution.

Captain Ellis now proceeded along the north shore, through much broken ice; and saw small parties of the Esquimaux on the eminences, making signals to approach; but not wishing to stop, he sailed on to Knight's Island, in latitude 62 deg. 2 min. north, where he anchored.

Soon weighing from thence, he endeavoured to stand in with the western shore, where a large opening appeared; but the weather growing tempestuous, and the ice driving about in large fragments, it was found necessary to return to Knight's Island. On the 5th of July the sea became much clearer, and two canoes came off; and being informed that whalebone was wanted, they soon brought a large quantity of that commodity, and many bladders filled with train oil. The whalebone was speedily purchased with hatchets, knives, and bits of iron hoops; but as the oil was too cumbrous, it was rejected on any terms.

A circumstance happened here which filled captain Ellis and company with astonishment. In sailing through the ice among the islands that were scattered in that quarter, the needles lost their magnetic power; and, on being touched with an artificial magnet, soon again lost the influence they had acquired.

This phænomenon occasioned much speculation; however, the compasses being carried to a warm place, quickly resumed their polarity.

The captain again attempted to enter the opening before noticed; but the ice driving backwards and forwards with much violence, prevented his approach. Here six canoes brought off a cargo of whalebone, which was purchased on very advantageous terms.

The Resolution next steered to the north-west; and surmounting several difficulties, entered Neville's Bay. On repassing some shoals, with an intention to coast to the northward, the tide swept the vessel on a ride of rocks, where she narrowly escaped being dashed in pieces. While in this perilous situation, several Indian canoes came off with whalebone, which was exchanged for the usual articles. The Esquimaux perceived the distress of the Resolution; but, far from taking any advantage of it, they rendered captain Ellis essential service, by conducting him through the shoals into deep water. This tribute of praise is due to these people; as they were the probable instruments of saving the party from destruction.

Captain Ellis does justice to the industry and ingenuity of these Indians, which he exemplifies in the mode of preparing their harpoons, their hatchets, and their knives, from stones, sea-horse teeth, and sea-unicorns' horns. In dress they considerably differ from those about Port Nelson; though there is a strong coincidence in language, features, and customs. The women have a ghastly appearance, as they wear their hair over their eyes, and a cap of buffaloes skin, to pevent the attacks of the musquitoes, which are here excessively troublesome. Train oil is the favourite beverage of these people; and it seems congenial to the climate, and salutary to health. In the rocky and remote island of St. Kilda, on the coast of Scotland, the natives delight in the oil drawn from the fat of Soland geese, which is nearly as rancid. In a rigorous climate, a greasy kind of food seems most natural,

and Providence furnishes it in most abundance; in a warm climate, drying aliment, and drink is most plentiful and most esteemed.

The manner in which these Indians kindle a fire is very curious. They prepare two pieces of dry wood, and making a small hole in each, fit into them a little cylindrical piece of wood, round which they twist a thong; then pulling the ends of this thong, they whirl the cylinder about with such velocity, that the motion sets the wood on fire, which they feed with a little dry moss in lieu of tinder.

These poor creatures appeared to have no tincture of jealousy, and made some overtures in regard to their wives which decency forbids us to mention. But is seems they were actuated by motives not easily accounted for. They acknowledged the superiority of the Europeans; and imagine, in the most literal sense, that every being begets his likeness; and that the son of a captain must infallibly be a captain also.

On the 9th of July they anchored at Sea-Horse Island, so called from the immense number of those animals that resort thither. This being the season of propagation, they were extremely furious, and roared in a terrible manner.

Next day they stood along shore, among small islands and floating ice, till they arrived at Whale Cove, in latitude 62 deg. 30 min. north. To the westward of this place they discovered a bay with many islands, from which they were visited by a few Indians.

On one of these islands, captains Ellis and Moor landed, where they were met by several women and children, the men being engaged in fishing. Ascending the highest ground, they looked out for some considerable opening, but in vain; and observing the tide came in from the eastward, they were convinced that none existed thereabout.

The following day they discovered a large opening running to the westward, to which captain Ellis gave

the appellation of Corbet's Inlet; but observing the tide still flowing from the eastward, they did not think it necessary to enter it. After a short intercourse with the Esquimaux, and taking in fresh water, they resolved to return to the ships, which they found safe at Marble Island.

In the absence of this reconnoitring party, the Dobbs galley had been exposed to much danger from the ice, near Rankin's Inlet, into which place captain Smith had sent a boat on discovery; but after sailing about thirty leagues, it was found to terminate in a bay.

The morning that the Resolution joined, captain Smith of the California had sent his long-boat under the command of his second mate, to search the coast between Cape Jalabert and Cape Fullerton.

While the ships remained here, they were visited by a few Esquimaux; but a great gun being fired at their departure, re-echoed in such a dreadful manner from the neighbouring rocks, as frightened them from returning again

On the 14th they weighed, and steered to the northward, dispatching the Resolution to make the same tour that had been proposed for the California's long-boat, with instructions to join about Cape Fullerton. Next day they fell in with such shoals of ice, that it was found impossible to proceed. Two days after, the ice parted; and the ships, by keeping near the shore, evaded it.

As the boats did not join so soon as was expected, it was determined to go in quest of them. Accordingly the California stood to the south, and the Dobbs to the north. Meanwhile captain Ellis went ashore in the pinnace, near a headland which he named Cape Fry, in latitude 64 deg. 32 min. The tide here came from the north. The coast was of an easy ascent, but rose pretty high. The hills appeared of a reddish rock, and entirely bare. The valleys were covered with a shallow turf, and here and there some

plants were seen; among the rest, a vetch in bloom. Considerable numbers of deer were seen browsing on the sides of the hills. The sea-weeds were of an extraordinary luxuriance; which was the more remarkable, as there were few vegetables on shore.

After pursuing different routes, to find the boats sent out on discovery, captain Ellis, in the Dobbs, arrived at Cape Fry, without making any important remarks; and had the satisfaction to find the California in company with the two boats of which they had been in quest. The officers on board them reported that they found an inlet in latitude 64 deg. north, upwards of three leagues wide at the entrance; but, upon sailing further it became six or seven leagues broad. In less than twenty leagues from its mouth, it again narrowed to four leagues; but though they could perceive the shores open again, they were discouraged from proceeding further, by observing, that the water, by degrees, became more turbid, shallow, and fresh. In their passage, they fell in with numerous Esquimaux, who supplied them with venison on the easiest terms.

Captain Ellis observes, "that it is highly probable, this inlet may have some communication with the great lake within land, which may, perhaps, have another outlet into the Western Ocean." An opinion unconfirmed by subsequent discoveries.

The ships being near Wager's Strait, and absolutely certain that the tide in the Welcome came from the north, the captains, considering the warm dispute to which this had given rise between Mr. Dobbs and captain Middleton, resolved to try whether it was really a strait in the Western Ocean, as the former of those gentlemen had concluded; or a fresh water river, as the latter had asserted.

Wager's Strait as it was then called, is in 65 deg. 33 min. north latitude, and in 88 deg. west longitude, from London. The narrowest part of this channel is about five leagues to the westward of Cape Dobbs; and

there the tide flows with uncommon rapidity. While the ships were in this place, the mariners had little control over them; for the strength of the current carried the California four or five times round, in spite of all the efforts of the crew. The water raged, foamed, boiled, and whirled about like a great torrent broken by many rocks, in a manner both awful and surprising.

Having past Savage Sound, the navigation became more safe and easy. On the 30th, captain Ellis was off Deer Sound, and soon anchored in Douglas Harbour.

After mooring the ships, a council was held on board the Dobbs, in which it was unanimously agreed, that the ships should remain in their present station, while the boats should proceed up the strait as far as possible, to determine its nature and extent; and to prevent the ships from being detained too long in this inhospitable coast, it was fixed that they should sail for England on the 25th of August, whether the boats returned or not.

In pursuance of these resolutions, the captain sailed, with proper officers and mariners in the boats of their respective ships, on the last day of July, with a favouring gale. Towards night they were alarmed by a very loud noise, resembling the sound of an immense cataract; but not being able to discover the cause, they judged it prudent to come to an anchor, and to land, to reconnoitre.

A party having with difficulty ascended some eminences on shore, found it so dark that they were obliged to return without making any discoveries.

In ascending these rocky mountains, the prospect was as gloomy and as grand as ever was seen by mortal eyes. While they walked along the beach, the pendant rocks seemed ready to fall on their heads; and the water, dashing from cliff to cliff, made a horrid noise. The shore was strewed with fragments of rocks, torn

from the mountain tops by the expansive power of frost; and many masses hung in such a form, as if every moment ready to tumble into the plain.

The tremendous noise, and the uncertainty of its cause, rendered the night tedious and restless. Early in the morning, captain Ellis went on shore again, and soon discovered that the astounding noise was occasioned by the tide being confined in a passage not more than sixty yards wide, where the volume of water and its rapidity were exceedingly great. This barrier is about one hundred and fifty miles from the entrance of the strait; and beyond it, captain Ellis observed that it opened to five or six miles in width, to the westward; which still gave the hopes of a communication.

Having passed the fall with less difficulty than was expected from its appearance at ebb, they found the shores on both sides very steep, and no ground to be felt with a line of one hundred and forty fathoms. Here some of the natives visited them, and brought dried venison and other provisions to exchange for European commodities.

Seals and white whales were still numerous; but the water freshening, most of the company were discouraged, and began to lose the hopes of finding this the communication they expected. On the evening of the 3d of August, their apprehensions were realized: the water all at once became shoaly; and, on examination, they had the mortification to find that the fancied passage terminated in two small unnavigable rivers, one of which plainly issued from a large lake on the south-west.

While they remained at this place, several canoes came off with deer and buffaloes flesh, and some dried salmon, which were readily purchased. Captain Ellis encouraged these people to bring more supplies; and, by way of curiosity, purchased whatever they offered for sale. Having ingratiated himself with them, he endeavoured to obtain some intelligence with respect to another sea, which he strove to suggest to them

might lie to the westward; and to make them comprehend his meaning, chalked out a rude draught of the coast, in hopes they would have continued it; but to his disappointment he found they had not the least conception of such a sea.

Among the Indians, who visited the English here, was a person, who, though he used the same language and dress, was of a fairer complexion, and, from his ignorance of the management of a canoe, was evidently of another nation. Captain Ellis, supposing he might be a slave, sent Mr. Thompson, the surgeon, to try to redeem him; but the natives, though in every other negotiation they were friendly and easy, rejected the overture in such a manner as manifested their disapprobation.

On the 4th of August the boats weighed, and began to measure back their course to the ships. The wind being contrary and high, they took shelter for some hours in a cove under the south shore. That night the California's boat lost a man; who was unfortunately knocked overboard by the sudden shifting of the mainsail. On the 6th they repassed the fall, and next day reached the ships.

A council was immediately held to receive the report; and Mr. Thompson, the surgeon, intimating the possibility of a passage towards the north shore, which the wind and weather had prevented them from approaching sufficiently near in the late expedition, it was agreed that another attempt should be made, and that no probable communication should be left unexplored.

Accordingly, captain Ellis, attended by the surgeon and a few more, set out in the Resolution, to obtain satisfaction on this point. In their passage they saw many whales and seals; but soon found themselves embayed by the coast and islands, and were convinced that no navigable opening existed. Again frustrated in their expectations, they returned to the ships, after no more than one day's absence.

On the 15th of August they left Douglas Harbour;

and in the Narrows, entering the Wager, were detained by a flood tide for several hours. On the 17th, being in the Welcome, near Low Breach, it was proposed to go thither and try the tide. Accordingly captain Ellis and the chief mate, with some hands, set out in a boat for that purpose; but the time of high water being past before they could reach the shore, and darkness setting in, it was necessary to wait the return of the tide, to execute the commission with any certainty. For some hours the Dobbs continued firing signal guns; but, either the wind or the tide driving her to the northward, by day-break she was both out of sight and out of hearing.

The business on which captain Ellis went, being accomplished, and the direction of the tide being ascertained to come from the north, he next began to consider how to get on board. Having lost sight of the ship; not knowing what course to steer to recover her; the wind beginning to blow fresh, and the snow to fall, were circumstances of terror that could not fail to make a strong impression on the minds of the most resolute.

In this situation, so unexpected and so alarming, captain Ellis exerted himself to the utmost to encourage his people; and set before them every stimulus to endeavour, and every danger of relaxation. To regain the ship was the only chance of preservation; they had scarcely a day's provision on board, and neither man nor beast was to be found on this inhospitable coast.

Putting to sea, and straining every nerve, to their unspeakable joy, about twelve leagues from the shore they espied the ships, and providential it was for them that they did so; for the wind and sea soon rose so high, and the weather became so thick and dark, that they must inevitably have perished in the boat.

On the 19th they turned the Resolution adrift, and agreed to bear away for England. On the 29th they entered Hudson's Straits, and enjoyed pleasant weather till the 3d of September, when it began to alter

infinitely for the worse. Thick and noisome fogs were prevalent; and perhaps this disposition of the air made the crews relapse into the scurvy, from which they had been for some time exempted. This was the more unfortunate on account of the dangerous navigation of those seas, arising from the narrowness of the straits, the want of soundings, the floating mountains of ice, and the dismal darkness of the atmosphere. Terrific, however, as a combination of such circumstances must be, a constant watch and strict discipline are generally found to prevent any serious dangers; and hence the Hudson's Bay ships make their annual voyages with as few disasters as those which navigate the most placid seas.

A prodigious rippling of the sea, occasioned by the tide setting strongly against a fresh wind, convinced them that they were near the Isles of Resolution. Here several mountains of ice hove in sight; but as the ships were rapidly advancing to a warmer climate, these were soon left behind.

A dreadful storm overtook them on the 12th, in which considerable damage was sustained; and the California was separated from the Dobbs, and did not rejoin her till after she reached Carstown, in the island of Pomona.

After refreshing in this harbour for a week, they continued their course for England, and arrived safe in Yarmouth Roads on the 14th of October; having been absent from thence one year, four months, and seventeen days.

Thus ended a voyage which had raised the expectations of all the maritime countries of Europe, and left them disappointed. It, however, terminated the dispute from which this expedition originated; and it has satisfied the most prejudiced, that should a passage actually exist, it will never be found useful for any commercial purposes.

ACCOUNT

OF

THE ADVENTURES

OF

FOUR RUSSIAN SAILORS,

Who were cast in a Storm upon the uncultivated Island of East Spitzbergen, on which they lived for Six Years and Three Months. By Professor LE ROY.

TRAVELS of older standing, and particularly those by sea, have often been the source of exaggerated relations, such sometimes as greatly exceed the bounds of probability. As highly as we esteem those authors who have given us just accounts of adventures of this nature, as much do we hesitate to give credit to those whose narratives, abandoning likelihood, are obnoxious to our judgment. Among these it has more than once occurred that writers charged with fallacies have in after-time been found to have related truths in what have been looked upon as idle tales. It were useless to instance here examples of this description.

The adventures which I propose to relate, in as few words as possible, may be placed among the learned researches of individuals into the globe: they will, it is not unlikely, be worked upon with little regard to probability, and the matters related (in some degree wonderful of themselves) be enlarged with different variations. I must certainly own that I knew not at first what opinion I ought to form of them myself, when M. Venezobre, director of the offices of the pitch merchants, gave me the first information respecting them from Archangel.

The sailors, whose history I write, were dependants in a degree on count Peter Iwanowitz Schuwalow, to

whom the empress Elizabeth had granted the privilege of fishing for whales. I begged this nobleman to give an order that these sailors should be permitted to come over from Archangel, that I might have conversation with them as I wished. The count had the goodness to comply with my request; he was himself anxious to see and speak to them. Accordingly they were wrote for, and two of them were sent to Petersburg; the boatswain, called Alexis Himkoff, fifty years of age; and a sailor, who was his godson, and who bore the name of Iwan Himkoff. They arrived in this city at the beginning of the year 1750; and the first discourse I held with them was on the 8th of January. They brought with them different articles of their workmanship, which I shall notice as I proceed, to present to count Schuwalow. I had full opportunity to question them on every point which I could think of, and reiterated my inquiries at different periods; from which I had no doubt of their veracity. I believe also that I do not assume too much in saying, that nothing of what I am about to relate can with any reason be called in question.

Now a ground of certainty is furnished which will establish the truth of these adventures. At the time of the arrival of these unfortunate sailors at Archangel, M. Von Klingstadt, sub-auditor of the admiralty of that town, caused them to be brought before him: he was the first to interrogate them on what had befallen them, put down their answers in writing, and decided on publishing the statement. Shortly after he came to Petersburg, and saw the narrative which I had written: he told me he found it to coincide exactly with that which he had sketched, and gave up his intention of publishing his own. He had the civility to compare his draught with mine, in order to discover if I had omitted to question the men on any separate matters which he had learnt from them. The two accounts did not differ in the smallest degree in the answers given to the various questions put to them. This is an incontestible evidence of the truth of their

narrative, since in different places, and at different times, they uniformly stated the same.

In the year 1743 Jeremias Ottainkoff, an inhabitant of Mesen, in Jergovia, a part of the government of Archangel, bethought himself of sending out a vessel with fourteen hands to Spitzbergen, to fish for whales and sea-calves, called by the Russians Morgi; in which line he carried on a considerable trade. For eight days together this vessel had a favourable wind, but on the ninth it changed. Instead of proceeding to the western side of Spitzbergen, to which the Dutch and other nations annually resort for the whale fishery, they were desirous of sailing to the eastern side, and shortly reached an island which is called East Spitzbergen, known to the Russians by the name of Maloy Brown, which signifies Little Brown; Spitzbergen Proper being called by them Bolschoy Brown, that is, Great Brown. They were within three wrests of shore (two English miles), when suddenly the vessel was enclosed by ice: this gave them great uneasiness. They held a council among themselves on what to do; when the boatswain recollected to have heard that some inhabitants of Mesen had once resolved upon wintering on this island; they had also taken with them the materials of a hut, in ready-fitted timber, on board their ship; and this hut had been judged to be certainly at some distance from the sea-shore. This information of the boatswain induced them to resolve on spending the winter there themselves, should the hut remain as they hoped; considering that they should run great danger in any case if they hazarded remaining at sea. They deputed four persons to seek for and endeavour to find the hut, and any other medium of assistance; that is to say, the boatswain, Alexis Himloff, and three sailors, Iwan Himkoff, Stephen Sharapoff, and Foedor Weregin.

They had to land on a desert island. These unfortunate men were therefore, of course, to be supplied with arms and plenty of provision. On the

other hand, they had to proceed the distance of a mile over fragments of ice, now lifted up by the waves, and now driven against each other by the wind, which made the way as perilous as laborious, and consequently enforced the circumspection of not overloading themselves, lest they should sink and not arrive.

They provided themselves for this expedition with a musket, a powder-horn, containing twelve charges of powder, a quantity of lead, an axe, a small kettle, a stove, a piece of touchwood, a knife, a tin box full of tobacco, and each his pipe. With these few articles and provisions did these four unfortunate sailors reach the island.

They overcame all their difficulties, and quickly discovered the hut they were in search of: it was erected about a quarter of a mile from the sea. It was about six fathoms long; its breadth and its height were each three fathoms. It had a small entrance-hall, which might be two fathoms broad, and consequently had two doors, the one opening into the hall, the other into the chamber. This served very well to preserve the warmth of the room when it was heated. To conclude, there was found in this apartment a clay fire-place, set up in the Russian manner, *i. e.* a stove without a chimney, serving the double purpose of cooking the victuals and heating the room, and also for men to place themselves upon: this is a common practice among the country people when they are cold.

I have observed that they were without a chimney in this room; and this can excite but little astonishment, the Russian peasantry seldom building their houses in any other manner. As for the smoke with which the whole chamber is filled when a fire is made in the stove, to give it vent the door is opened, and three or four windows which are a foot long and half a foot broad made in the planks of which the house is constructed: these windows can be shut when desired very closely, in frames purposely contrived, in which they are moved. When a fire is kindled, the

smoke never sinks lower than these small windows which I have noticed, so that a person may remain seated without being subject to much inconvenience from it; and when the apartment has been cleansed, whether by the door or the windows, they can be drawn to. Without being told, one may easily conceive that the upper part of the room, down to the windows, must be as black as though built of ebony; on the other hand, from the windows to the floor is comparatively clean, and preserves the appearance of the natural wood, of which the house was built.

Satisfied with having found this hut, which shortly they improved by expelling from it the damp and necessarily foul air, they managed to pass the night in it as well as they could. Early in the morning of the following day they hied themselves back to the seashore, to inform their companions of their good fortune, and bring from the ship provisions, and necessary arms; in short, whatsoever it contained which could be useful to them for passing the winter on this island.

It were a more easy task to conceive the anguish of these unfortunate beings than to express it, when upon treading back their steps to the place where they landed, they perceived nothing but an open sea, entirely free from the ice with which it was covered on the preceding day, and to their heavy misfortune no ship in sight. A terrible storm which happened during the night had occasioned this dreadful calamity. And whether the pieces of ice with which it was enclosed had broken, and dashing against the vessel with violence had crushed it; whether it had foundered at sea, an accident which often occurs in those parts; or whatsoever other distress it had encountered, it never more was seen: and as no intelligence respecting its company was ever after obtained, it is highly probable they met with some mischance. From this circumstance, these unfortunate men saw plainly that they had no hope remaining of getting from the island; and with heavy

hearts they returned to the hut from which they came.

Their first care and attention turned, as may be naturally imagined, upon their support and shelter. The twelve charges of powder which they had, in a little time produced them as many rein-deer, which, luckily for them, abounded on the island.

As the rein-deer is met with in the north of Europe, in Lapland, and in Asia, in similar latitudes, I conceive I shall not be departing widely from my subject in giving a description of it.

The rein-deer resembles the stag and the eland; it is for the most part of an ash gray, although some are met with of a reddish colour. It is more stout and larger than the stag, but its feet are shorter, and proportionately thicker. Its antlers are whitish and plain, and are more branching than those of the stag; those of the eland are more like them. When the rein-deer runs, the joints of its feet make a clicking, which of itself is sufficient to distinguish it from the stag. The Laplander, the Samoiede, and the inhabitants of a part of Tungusi, break in the rein deer, which is called by them as well as in Russia by the name of Olen, and train it to draw them in their sledges; the Tungusians call it Oleni. The rein-deer serves all the purposes of a horse, is tolerably strong, and possesses an incredible swiftness. Its food is moss, which is found in abundance in all the northern countries. Its provender is every where to be met with, and costs its master nothing; it even helps itself, digging through the snow with its feet to get to its fodder. It has been affirmed that the rein-deer cannot subsist away from its native country but I can prove this assertion to be goundless. At Moscow, in the year 1731, I saw a dozen of them which were running by the side of the house of count Von Goloskin, at that time grand chancellor, which were kept in his grounds: they were of a reddish white colour. In the year 1752, count Peter Iwanowitch Von Schuwaloff, sent for two from Archangel, a

male and female. They were fed on moss. The female was a young one which throve to admiration, and down to the year 1754 was in perfect health. These are matters to which I was an eye-witness at Moscow. I cannot tell however what length of time she lived, as I returned the same year to Petersburgh. Having finished this short digression, I return to my narrative.

The injuries which the hut so luckily discovered by the sailors had received, were very trivial: the planks of which it was built had separated in different places, and requiring to have the chinks filled with moss, the wind had a free passage afforded it. This, however, was an evil easy to be remedied, as they had an axe, and the planks were not decayed. It is well known that in these cold climates wood keeps entire for many years, and is not subject to be worm-eaten. It cost them but little trouble to join the planks together again, and with the moss which was found in abundance on the island they readily filled up every crevice; this practice is generally followed in completing houses constructed of wood. These men relieved themselves from this inconvenience without embarrassment, the more so from its being the custom, as is well known, for the Russian peasants to build their own dwellings: they are consequently expert in the use of the axe.

The cold in these climates is insupportable, and the earth itself produces no trees, not even the smallest bush. This want of wood our unfortunate adventurers had remarked on looking round the island on their arrival, and they were under apprehension of perishing of cold. Their good fortune, however, favoured them: the pieces of a ship which had been wrecked were thrown on the coasts of this island; an accident which furnished them with wood enough to carry them through their first winter. Nearly the same assistance was to be sent them the following year, this affording them no more than an advantageous variation; the waves of the sea continually throwing

on shore entire trees with their roots, without their being able to divine from what country they were brought. This circumstance will not appear incredible to those who have taken the pains to inform themselves of what different writers have related on this subject; who notice its frequency, whether on our wintering at Nova Zemla, (not Zembla as we shall prove,) or in lands of other latitudes further towards the north.

I break in on my narrative to observe that it be called not Nova Zembla, but Novoia or Nova la, which signifies new earth, or new land, the term conveying both these meanings; and un name when spoken of, it is known in Russia.

Nothing assisted these sailors during the first their exile, so much as a board to which was long iron hook, and a nail four or five inche and proportionately thick; as well as another b which was fastened different old iron work, the mains of some vessel which had been lost in th extended sea. This unexpected aid arrived at when they had nearly expended their powder; the flesh of the rein-deer which they had s ot most consumed; and they had no other prospe that of perishing with hunger. A second p good fortune befell them, little less valuable t first: they found on the sea shore the root of a which was nearly in the shape of a bow.

Necessity was ever the mother of invention. took for granted, that by the means of their they should be enabled to fashion this root into plete bow; and effectively they compassed the pose.

But the difficulty was to find a cord to string arrows to shoot with. They deliberated on th cumstance, and concluded upon making tw headed spears for defending themselves from th bears, which are more fierce than the gener their species; an attack from them being the only molestation they had to apprehend; the making of arrows

and contriving a cord to string their bow, were put off to a future period. To make a hammer for working the iron into lances and arrows was no great achievement for them; every one knows they might find a way to effect this purpose, and furnish themselves with the tool.

The iron hook which I have noticed they found fastened to the board thrown on shore, had a pretty considerable hole in it, about two or three inches from the end opposite to the head. The head was round and thick, such as in similar hooks is commonly made for their protection. They contrived to heat red hot the end which had an orifice, and enlarged it by forcing into it the nail which they had met with: this they effected with a few strokes of the axe on the part, about five inches from the hole which was to be made larger; by another blow they drove in the hot hook a piece of rounded wood which served for a handle, and thus became possessed of a hammer. To complete their forge, they pitched upon a large stone for their anvil, which they had to remove from its place: on this occasion, two rein-deers' horns or antlers served them for slings. With these tools they forged themselves two lances' heads, which they polished and pointed sharp with stones: these they bound as firmly as possible by the exertion of all their might, with thongs made from the skins of the rein-deer, to stocks of the thickness of one's arm, made of the branches of trees which they found cast on shore by the sea. When a man has resolution, he may, with such a spear (you may call it a pike or halbert if you will) attack a white bear, although he runs imminent danger of being killed. As soon as they had made themselves masters of one of these frightful beasts, they made its flesh serve them for food; and they found it much more agreeable to the taste than that of the rein-deer; the truth of this circumstance I have been assured of by many with whom I have spoken on this subject.

Upon examining the nerves and fibres of this bear,

they remarked with indescribable delight that they were divisible with the least trouble into threads as thick, or as fine as they pleased. I have myself made this experiment, which I shall hereafter notice. This discovery was one of the most happy events that could have befallen them; besides other advantages which they might derive from it at a future period, it furnished them immediately with a cord for their bow. With this they killed all the rein-deer and blue and white foxes they had occasion for during the whole time of their stay upon the island; these served them for food, for medicine, and for raiment, protecting them from the insupportable cold which reigns in these latitudes, so contiguous to the pole.

The great success which our islanders met with from the use of their lances, enlivened them much, and induced them without delay to forge four iron heads for arrows: these were completed, but made smaller than the first: they heated and sharpened them as they had done the former, and bound them with thin threads made of the nerves of the bear, to shafts of fir, through slits in which they inserted feathers which they found, fastening them with very fine fibres. Their ingenuity profited them so far, that in the course of the time of their remaining on the island, by means of these arrows, they killed two hundred and fifty rein-deer, besides a considerable number of blue and white foxes. The latter are called Pestzi in Russia, on account of their strong resemblance to a kind of Iceland dog, which the German shepherds usually have for guarding their sheep: the word *pes* signifying a dog in the Russian tongue.

When they ventured themselves against the white bear, of which in all they killed ten, they ran great risk of their life. These wild animals are possessed of uncommon strength, and defend themselves with extraordinary obstinacy; so that, excepting the first which I have mentioned, they never designedly encountered them: the nine others were killed in their

own defence, when attacked by them: several of these had even proceeded so far as into the entrance of the hut to tear them to pieces. It is true, all these wild animals did not show the same courage, if I may so express myself, whether from being less excited by hunger, or less furious by nature; some of them running away by the cries which the men made while preparing themselves to drive them back. Nevertheless their different attempts occasioned these poor men unspeakable inquietude: they never ventured to any distance alone, nor without being armed with their lances to protect them from the violence of bears; being continually under apprehension of being devoured by them. These three descriptions of wild animals were the only food for our islanders during the whole of their stay in that desert country.

Men do not reflect upon all their means at once: it is commonly the need of a thing which opens their eyes, and impels them to think of expedients which otherwise would not have been conceived. The justness of this observation was more than once experienced by our sailors. During a long period they were under the necessity of eating their meat almost raw, without salt, the want of which they felt severely, and without bread. The immoderate cold of these climates, and the few conveniences they possessed, did not allow them to cook their victuals in a proper manner: in their hut they only found a stove of the Russian fashion, and consequently of a description which could not serve for making a kettle boil. On the other hand, wood was much too precious to them to keep up two fires, and were they to kindle one without the house, it would not serve to warm them, a matter of the highest importance in such a rigid clime. Finally, the continual dread of exposing themselves to the white bears hindered them from cooking in the open air. I shall now make one remark. Allowing that in spite of the before-mentioned impediments they should have attempted this measure, it would yet have been impracticable

throughout a great part of the year: and certainly, the excessive cold which almost always reigns in these regions; the long absence of the sun, which leaves them for months enveloped in complete darkness; the inconceivable falls of snow, which take place at certain periods, and the long duration of the rainy season at others;—these circumstances must soon have obliged them to change their intention, even should they have resolved upon it.

How then were they to remedy the inconvenience of being obliged to eat their meat almost raw? Their ingenuity pointed out the place to them of suspending it from the roof of the hut. In the description of it, I have observed that every day it was filled with smoke from the height of a sitting person to the top. Now this was actually a smoking chamber; then they hung their meat on wooden pegs, fastened on the outside of the upper part of the roof of their hut, so that their foes the bears could not reach it: there they left it the whole summer through, exposed to the fresh air, and the wind; it dried extremely well, and served them in lieu of bread, making them relish their other meat which was but half cooked. After they had made this experiment, and it had succeeded so much to their comfort as to satisfy their fullest wishes, they ever after continued the practice of it, and increased their stock of provision as much as they were able.

It may be inquired how came they by this idea? The answer is easy. There are few countries in which it is not usual to smoke hams and geese, as well as different sorts of fish and in Russia the practice is common of drying salmon, sturgeon, and other fish of similar kind in the sun; which on fast days, and during the great fast, are served up on table without the least preparation.

After speaking of their meat, I must now give a short account of their beverage. The water which they obtained from the rivulets that streamed plenteously from the rocks of this island, quenched their

thirst in summer; and the ice and the snow, which they melted during the winter, served them for drink through that part of the year when they were confined to their hut. I must not, however, forget to notice that their little kettle was the vessel in which they fetched their water, and out of which they drank.

The scurvy is a malady to which seamen are commonly subject, and is more dangerous in proportion to an approximity to the pole; whether the cause be attributable to the cold, or to any other unknown circumstance. Let that be as it will: these unfortunate men, should they be attacked by this disorder, were without assistance: they therefore bethought themselves of a means which ought not to pass unnoticed, reputedly a sovereign preventative of this disagreeable complaint. It was Iwan Himkoff, who had passed the winter several times on the western coast of Spitzbergen, that made his companions acquainted with this remedy. He instructed them to eat raw and frozen meat cut into small pieces, and drink the warm blood of the rein-deer, extracted from the animal as soon as killed, and that as often as the carcases could be obtained; and, lastly, to eat as much as possible of cochlearia (scurvy grass), the only grass which grew on the island, and that but sparingly. It is for the faculty to determine if these small pieces of raw and frozen flesh, and this warm blood of the rein-deer, be fit for the cure of the scurvy. Might not exercise be concerned where this prescription was followed by those who were threatened with this disorder, or upon whom it had made its appearance? Again, no one is ignorant that cochlearia is a powerful antidote against the scurvy. However, be this as it may; experience, in this instance, illustrated the powerful influence of the prescriptions administered: three of the sailors who made use of this regimen were kept entirely from this complaint. As often as they hunted down a rein-deer or a fox, as constantly they drank its blood. Iwan Himkoff, the youngest of them, had acquired such swift-

ness of foot at this exercise, that he could leave the fastest horse behind, a circumstance to which I have been an eye-witness. The fourth, called Feodor Weregin, had at at all times an unconquerable aversion to the blood of rein-deer; he was very heavy and very idle, and returning to the hut as soon as possible when obliged to make excursions. From his first arrival upon this island he was menaced with this calamity; and in course of time the malady had made such progress, that he was subject to a dreadful weakness, accompanied by cruel sufferings. During the last year of his life he was bed-ridden, without strength enough to raise himself up, and without the power of moving his hand to his mouth; the companions of his misfortunes being obliged to nurse him the same as a new-born child*.

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* Although I have my doubts as to the efficacious operation of pieces of frozen and raw flesh cut small, and the drinking of the warm blood of newly killed rein-deer, as a remedy for the scurvy; it yet appears to me that these things are worthy of notice. I certainly have found in the first volume of a book entitled Voyages and Discoveries of the Russians along the shores of the Frozen Ocean and the Eastern Sea, as well as towards Japan and America, published by Müller, "that the inhabitants of Northern Siberia make use of frozen fish, which is eaten raw, as a remedy for that shocking disorder; and that it is effectual." Vide page 194, 195. "Our men dug out their residence for the winter at the mouth of the river Chotuschtach. Here the scurvy began to affect our ship's crew; but they were benefited by using a decoction of cedar shoots, which tree grows here to a small height; and, after the manner of the country, by taking raw and frozen fish, which they powdered and ate. By these means, and by keeping continually at work and hourly exercise, most of them got relieved and restored to health.

"Possibly the cure of these sick men is ascribable alone to their exercise and the balsam contained in the cedar shoots; this is nothing else than a turpentine serving to purify the blood: however, it appears from this that these nations make use of raw and frozen fish as a remedy for this complaint, and I mean to observe this alone."

The author noticed before he speaks of blood as an antiscorbutic (see page 205 to 206). "On such an occasi on" 'that of

In the beginning of my narrative I have observed that our sailors brought a small sack of meal, about twenty pounds weight, with them to the island; I shall now notice the use to which it was put.

Soon after their arrival they abandoned the use of this food, desisting when they had cooked the flesh of the rein-deer which they had killed; preserving thus about half of it. This remaining quantity they put to a service at least as necessary as that to which the former part had been applied. I shall proceed to describe it.

They readily saw that, while in so cold a climate,

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preventing and healing the scurvy,) he says, "we may take a precedent from the Russians of Archangel, some of whom almost every year pass the winter in Nova Zemla, without being incommoded with this disorder; imitating the Samoiedes in drinking frequently the blood of the fresh killed rein-deer."

Now, one remark. Upon my reading this narrative to Mr. S. Batigne, before I gave it to the public, he, on this occasion, observed, that he gave credit to the efficacy of the blood of animals being drunk while warm, as well for preventing as even for remedying this disorder; its volatile nature being calculated to hinder the juices of the body from becoming clammy and thick, and to correct them when in that disposition, in such as would make the trial. This malady proceeds from a want of due circulation of the fluids, which when disordered communicate their bane to the whole mass of blood. He grounded his opinion, as well as on other circumstances, upon the practice so common in voyages to America, in which, when the crew of a vessel is attacked by the scurvy, they make for one of the Turtle Islands, called so from the number of these animals found upon them; when the sick eat plenteously of that food, which from the quantity of blood it contains, and that of a balsamic nature, is the most preferable of all remedies.—On this subject I shall myself remark a custom which prevails in the neighbourhood of the Alps, and in other places. When persons are afflicted with pleurisies, or other complaints arising from the want of the proper circulation of the fluids, they are accustomed to drink the blood of the mountain goats. Although this blood be of a hot nature, it yet produces favourable consequences, from the volatility of its parts; exciting remarkable transpiration, and promoting sweat.

they must continually keep up a fire; they would have very few means for kindling it after those should be consumed which they possessed; it is true, they had store of fire-wood, but little touchwood or tinder. The barbarous nations in the wilds of America have discovered a method of lighting a fire whenever they will: it consists in the friction of a square piece of hard wood against two pieces of softer wood, which are fastened to it; while the two soft pieces are pressed between the knees, the middle hard piece is milled by the hands with great velocity, so that by the friction a heat is occasioned which shortly causes smoke, and quickly succeeding flame is excited*.

Our ingenious sailors had little knowledge of this American custom; but they knew that when two pieces of dry wood, one of which being soft, and the other hard, are violently rubbed against each other, the latter takes fire. This being also the mode in which the Russian country people produce fire when they are in the woods, and a holy ceremony practised throughout all the villages wherein there is a church, they could not consequently be ignorant of it. Probably

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* See what father Labat says, in his new voyages to the American islands, on this subject, when treating of the Caribbees.

"I must observe in addition, that this is not the only mode of kindling fire, which is practised by the Americans: some among them have a particular instrument appropriate to this service. It is to me an object of surprise, that the inhabitants of Kamschatka use the same instrument." (See the before-cited work of Müller, page 257.) The learned author then observed another place, where some Americans were taking their dinner, but who fled on his approach. He found, on proceeding to the spot, an arrow, and an instrument for kindling fire, fashioned in the same manner as those used in Kamschatka. In his remarks he says, "It is a board with several holes; with a stick, one end of which a man thrusts into one of these holes, while he mills the other end between his hands, and from the quickness of the motion causes fire. They then apply the sparks to any kind of matter of quick combustion."

my giving an account of this ceremony may not be unacceptable to those who have never heard a description of it.

The 18th of August, old style, is called by the Russians Frol y Lavior: these are the names of two martyrs inserted in the Romish kalendar, Florus and Laurus, on the 29th of the same month last year, on which day is kept the fast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist. On this day the Russians lead their horses round the church of their village, beside which on the foregoing evening they dig a hole with two mouths. Each horse has a bridle made of the bark of the linden-tree. The horses go through this hole one after the other, opposite to one of the mouths of which the priest stands with a sprinkler in his hand, with which he sprinkles them. As soon as the horses have passed by, their bridles are taken off, and they are made to go between two fires which they kindle, called by the Russians Givoy Agon, that is to say, living fires, of which I shall give an account. I shall previously remark, that the Russian peasantry throw the bridles of their horses into one of these fires to be consumed. This is the manner of their lighting these Givoy Agon, or living fires. Some men hold the ends of a stick made of the plane tree, very dry, and about a fathom long. This stick they hold firmly over one of birch, perfectly dry, and rub with violence and quickly against the former; the birch, which is somewhat softer than the plane, in a short time inflames, and serves them to light both the fires I have described.

To return to our islanders. It is incontestable that they were acquainted with the Givoy Agon, and of the means of making it; but why did they not adopt the same plan? They had no other wood than fir, a moist wood of itself, and that moreover furnished them by the sea. What were they to do if once their fire became extinguished? One readily sees a remedy should be provided. In walking through the island they had remarked that in the middle there was some fat earth

or clay. They conceived the idea of making themselves a vessel of it, that might serve for a lamp, which they might supply with the fat of the rein-deer they had killed, and with that of those which they should kill in future. This was certainly the most reasonable method they could adopt. What could they have done without light, during the winter, which in this latitude has one night of some months duration? They procured therefore some clay, and made a sort of lamp therewith; this they filled with rein-deer's fat, and stuck a piece of twisted linen in it to serve as a wick; but they perceived with grief that the fat penetrated the vessel as soon as it melted, and dropt from it on every side. They had now to seek a remedy for this misfortune, arising from the pores of the vessel being too large. This they quickly found. They made themselves for this purpose a new one, which they first suffered to dry well in the open air, and afterwards heating it red-hot in a glowing fire, they cooled it in the kettle wherein was a quantity of meal they were about to cook, so that it received consistency from the thin starch. As soon as the lamp had cooled, and they had filled it with melted fat, to their great joy they perceived that it did not leak; but for their greater security they dipped some rags of the linen of their shirts in the before-mentioned soddened meal, and placed them round their lamp. From the success of this essay, they resolved on being careful of the remainder of their meal. As they were very fearful lest some unlucky accident might befal their lamp, they had the foresight to construct another, that at no time they should be in want from any casualty happening.

Possibly it may be asked, Where did they find wicks for trimming their lamps? The answer is at hand. On the wreck of the ship, which they had collected with much labour for warming them in winter, was some cordage found, and a small quantity of hemp, the produce of old ropes, used on board ship for caulking, or

forcing with strength between the planks, to prevent leakage. When this was expended, they substituted, what they but seldom wore, the linen of their shirts and drawers. All who are acquainted with the Russian costume know that there are few among them but what wear drawers; few of the country people wear any other hose. With this hemp, and this part of their clothing, which among the common people is of a very coarse quality, they twisted wicks; and from the time of their completing their first lamp, to the instant of their going on ship-board again to return to their native land, they were never without this light burning in their apartment.

The necessity in which they found themselves of appropriating such an essential part of their clothing as their shirts and drawers to this purpose, was reparable by their employing instead the skins of the deer which they had killed sufficiently adequate in themselves as a substitute had they no other clothing; a case which happened shortly to be theirs. Without mentioning other things which they were in need of, they saw their shoes and boots worn out, and had no more: they were now but little removed from the violent cold of winter, and must again have recourse to that ingenuity which seldom leaves men when necessity calls for its being employed. They possessed a quantity of skins of the rein-deer and the fox, which served them for bedding and clothing, and contrived to dress them. This is the method in which they manufactured them.

They soaked these skins in soft water, and left them remaining in it for a day; afterwards, with very little pains, they scraped off the hair, and rubbed the leather, now moistened through, between their hands until almost dry; they then smeared this over with the melted fat of the rein-deer, and repeated the rubbing as before. This contrivance made the leather soft, pliant, and in short so flexible as to be fit for any use to which they might choose to apply it. As

for those skins laid aside for the purpose of making themselves pelisses, they were satisfied with letting them soften for one day only in manufacturing them, proceeding afterwards in the same manner as I have before described, excepting their not tearing off the hair. Thus they saw themselves at once possessed of all the materials necessary for clothing themselves from top to toe.

Yet, however, one great difficulty remained to be overcome. They had neither awl to make their shoes and boots with, nor needle to sew their clothing; but they had iron, as we have noticed, and found out means very soon of remedying this need: in short, they forged as useful an awl and needle as those which are used by workmen in these lines of business. It was in the beginning difficult for them to contrive how to make the requisite hole in the needle, though at last it was compassed by means of the point of their knife, which for this purpose they sharpened and made proper, after having previously forged a sort of wire for a needle, and heated it red-hot. I have had an opportunity of convincing myself of the truth of all I have said on this matter: I have attentively examined, through a common magnifying-glass, the eye of this needle. The mode they used of rounding, polishing, and pointing it, so as to be very sharp, was by rubbing it on stones, of which there was an abundance: the only fault it had was, that the eye, not being so uniform and even as it should be, was liable to cut the nerves with which it was threaded: but this was a failing they could not remedy.

Although unfurnished with sheers, for the purpose of cutting the hides, yet were they not without a substitute perfectly sufficient for this use, in the knife which they had so well sharpened. Thus, although they should not have been tailors or shoemakers, it appears that these unfortunate men must have become such in this incomprehensible state of embarrassment; since they manufactured hose, shirts, waistcoats,

cloaks or pelisses, boots, and shoes; in short, every description of clothing for which they had occasion, whether for winter or for summer. Then they had, which accounts for it, patterns of all these things, the pelisses excepted, before them: with these, industrious and ingenious as they were (which will easily be allowed of them from what has gone before), they had little difficulty in sewing together the skins and hides according to measure: a practice to which they were accustomed. With respect to thread for sewing the skins together, they had to provide for this, and quickly accomplished the means; the nerves or sinews of the rein-deer and bears were divided into thin or thicker threads, as they found most to their advantage; and with this last contrivance they completed all that was necessary for putting them in a condition for withstanding the inclemency of the weather.

In summer they were clad in slight undressed skins; in winter they were dressed like the Samoiedes and Laplanders, with long pelisses of the untanned skins of rein-deer and foxes. These pelisses had a hood somewhat like that of the capuchins, but protecting more the neck and head: it was all of one piece, with an opening before for the face remaining uncovered; so that the pelisses mentioned being entire, on laying them aside they were obliged to draw them over the head like a sack. Separate from the discontent which this lonesome life engenders, and particularly when constrained; and were it not for the reflection which each of them could not refrain from making, of the possibility of surviving his companions, and consequently starving to death, they possessed comforts sufficient to content them, the pilot or boatswain however excepted, who had a wife and three children: he thought (as he himself has confessed to me) every day on his return to them, and bewailed continually the distance which separated him from his family. It is fit, however, that I should now begin the description of the island itself,

and recount what this unfortunate inhabitant related to me respecting it.

This island, laid down by Gerard Van Keulen, and by John Peter Stuurman in his corrected chart of the northern part of Europe, by reference, will be seen to lie between latitude 77 deg. 25 min. and 78 deg. 45 min. north, under the name of East Spitzbergen, called by the Russians, Maloy Broun; and consequently, partly in the thirteenth and partly in the fourteenth climate*: whence it follows that the greatest length of daylight in the year will be of four months continuance, that is to say, on the side of the island opposite to that inhabited by our adventurers. In the before cited chart the island is laid down as describing a pentagon, its greatest length from east to west being twenty-three German miles, and its breadth from north to south twenty-two. As I had forgotten to question our islanders themselves upon the size of the island, I was

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* The author alluded to in any such division of the globe, as should make the space lying between latitude 77 deg. 25 min. and latitude 78 deg. 45 min. to fall in the ulterior part of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth climate, does not appear. The table computed by Ricciolus, which is that in highest esteem, divides the globe into twenty climates N., and as many S., that is to say, seven from the Equator to 48 deg. 15 min., each having the day in northern latitudes half an hour longer than the preceding; seven from latitude 48 deg. 15 min. to 65 deg. 54 min., each having the day one hour longer than the preceding, (in this latitude, from the refraction of its rays, which are computed in the table of Ricciolus, the sun is seen on the 21st of June without setting, forming its circuit above the horizon, which circumstance, but for this refraction, would not be visible more south than 66 deg. 30 min.) and six climates in each, the day of one month's longer duration than in the preceding, beginning at latitude 65 deg. 54 min. and finishing at the pole. By this table the eighteenth climate begins in latitude 78 deg. 6 min: that of the centre of the island, according to the above noticed latitudes, and the longest day in that latitude, is composed by him of one hundred and twenty-four days continuance, the longest night of one hundred and seventeen days length.—*Translator*.

obliged, in order to be able to speak with certainty of it, to avail myself of the chart that was laid before them after their return to their native country: they found out of themselves their place of exile, pointed out the spot on which their hut had been erected, and marked it with a stroke of a pen upon the map, which was returned to me at Archangel.

A proof that they had not deceived themselves from a knowledge of this island is evident from what Mr. Vernezobre, mentioned already in the beginning of my narrative, writes to me. He says, in his letter of 15th of November, 1750, "The captain of a galliot called the Nicholas and Andrew, belonging to count Peter Iwanowitch von Schuwaloff, passed the winter of 1749 on Maloy Broun. He landed shortly after the departure of our sailors, and discovered the hut which had served them for a dwelling, and noticed on a wooden cross, erected before the door by the pilot Alexis Himkoff, an inscription giving the name to the island of Alexeyiewskoi Ostrow, that is to say, Alexis Island." I must now remark a circumstance contained in this letter, which shows that the island must be of tolerable extent. "Certain Samoiedes hearing of the adventures of our sailors, and this country being suitable to them above all others, requested to speak with Mr. Vernezobre: they wished to be permitted to inhabit it, and to be transported thither without reward, themselves with their wives, their children, and their rein-deer.

Before I enter into a detail of the nature of this island, it may perhaps not be out of place to make the following remark. Some authors have advanced that the country known by the name of Nova Zemla is not properly speaking an island, or, as others maintain, a part of our continent, but only a heap of ice, held up and collected together in the lapse of time, which travellers have represented as an island. The ground on which they build their assumption is this among others: When (they say) men dig to the depth of one or two feet through the stratum of earth, which the wind has

blown over here from the coast of Asia, nothing but ice is found below.

I cannot undertake to decide in this matter; this has no relation to my subject; I have not read the authors who have published their sentiments in support of, or in opposition to, this hypothesis. I am content with observing simply that the island East Spitzbergen, of which I am treating, must be looked upon indisputably as real land, according to the representations made to me by these sailors.

They found, as they told me, many mountains and craggy rocks of an astonishing height, continually covered with ice and snow. They did not meet with the smallest tree, nor even the most diminutive bush, the Cochlearia excepted, which was very sparingly found. No grass grew; on the other hand, moss was seen in abundance every where. In the middle of the island they discovered some fat earth or clay; whence it is probable that some persons have conceived that there were ice mines in this place, or that the island was formerly nothing else: it is not impossible, were they to go and dig there, that they would shortly get to the ice. They certainly had no rivers, although they never wanted water; but a number of streams flowed at all times from the mountains and rocks, supplied from abundant sources. Besides flint stones which were common, the island furnished a kind of stone proper for burning for lime. This stone, produced here on the surface of the ground, in other countries is usually dug from quarries: (it is customary in Russia to burn lime, and lay the floors of their houses with it.) I should have taken the stone to have been hewn, were it not for the circumstance of its splitting like slate after long exposure to the air, and being separable like slate into scales. This kind of stone is called by the Russians, plit. To conclude, at the sea side of the island the shore is covered with sand and gravel, which continues some little distance towards the interior.

I had the precaution to learn from the sailors what-

ever I have yet described. It was natural as well that I should be curious enough to question them respecting the length of continuance of the shining of the sun, and its absence; as also concerning the temperature of the air, and the different changes in it, which they had remarked: in short, I inquired of them respecting all the phænomena observed by them during their unpleasant stay on this island.

Upon my putting to them the question, at what time the sun began to appear above the horizon; they answered me, it appeared the beginning of the great fast*. This answer did not however designate any particular day, the time of the fast changing always according to Easter's falling early or late. Simple country people, unacquainted with the mode of computing for Easter, and who possibly had never remarked the circumstance of this feast happening sometimes earlier, sometimes later; such were not consequently competent to satisfy me on this point.

The day they began to perceive the sun show itself,

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* As it appears in the course of the narrative that the sailors by some means kept such good reckoning of time as to err only in two days, or, owing to their having omitted the additional ones in the two leap years which occurred, say four days; is it unreasonable to imagine that they would bear in mind the period at which Easter was kept in the year of their departure from Archangel, and consider it as fixed on the same day in the succeeding year? If we grant this, as Easter-day in the year 1743 fell upon our 3d of April, according to the Julian computation for Easter, Lent would consequently begin on the 20th of February; and if that day be the one on which the sun was seen to emerge first from below the horizon, it will differ from the table of Ricciolus, which calculates for the refraction of light by only two days; the time it should be first seen according to that, in this latitude, being the 18th of February; and it may fairly be presumed, that, unacquainted with the length to which their wintry night would extend, and keeping in their hut as much as possible during the severe cold of that season, they might have missed the first actual appearance of the sun, and that for the two days which make the whole difference.—*Translator*.

revolving entirely above the horizon, was the feast of St. Athanasius, which happens on the second day of May, old style, or the twenty-first of April, according to the Gregorian kalendar*. They told me further,

* The date here described, at which the sun was seen to complete its revolution above the horizon, is as near correct as could be expected. By computation of Ricciolus, before adverted to, it should happen on the 20th of April. As to the period of its ceasing to shine, the account of its being but ten or eleven weeks is incorrect. It would have appeared for as great a length of time above the horizon after the solstitial day, as before, and consequently would have shone for nearly eighteen weeks, instead of ten or eleven, viz. from the 20th of April until the 22d of August, N. S. The calculation of the person to whom M. Le Roy referred for information is also incorrect. The refraction of the rays of the sun by the atmosphere causes it to be visible above the horizon before it be actually risen, and makes it appear some time after its setting; so much so, as to make a material difference in the length of its appearance in a latitude so much to the north, a matter not calculated by him. The computation afforded to M. Le Roy, and that of Ricciolus, which is considered correct, I have given below.

	Length of appearance.	Length of disappearance.
By M. Le Roy's friend	119	111
By Ricciolus	124	117

Respecting the time of the first appearance of the sun above the horizon, it is possible, from its being so much desired, it would have impressed itself upon their minds. The novelty of its revolution above the horizon, or rather a curiosity of ascertaining how long it happened before the time such an occurrence takes place at Archangel, might have made them more particular in noticing this date: the day of its discontinuing to revolve wholly visible, being of minor interest, since it yet had to shine for a great part of the twenty-four hours for a long time, was not so carefully attended to. The real time at which, from computation, it would cease wholly to be visible would be the 24th of October. They state this to have been the case on the 26th of October, O. S., which is the 15th according to our kalendar. May not their ceasing to see the sun so long as nine days before the time at which it should have been wholly invisible to them, have been occasioned by the great fogs which in the autumn so constantly prevail in these latitudes, according to the various accounts of all those who have

that it circulated thus to their observation for ten or eleven weeks. If the latter period of time be taken, which from the situation of the island must be the nearest to truth, the time of its beginning to set will thus be fixed, according to them, upon the seventh of July. From thence the sun began to set every day, until the feast of St. Demetrius. On that day it ceased to shine entirely.

This account of our islanders is not correct. Upon consulting a person well informed on these matters I was given to understand, that provided the island upon which they were had been situated in 77½ deg. of latitude, as it is described on the chart, the sun would have been seen for the first time on the fourth of February, would revolve above the horizon from the eleventh of April until the eighth of August, and would entirely disappear upon the sixteenth of October.

It is possible these poor fellows may have erred as well with respect to the duration of the sun's appearing and disappearing, as to the time of its revolution above our horizon, from their being desirous of ascertaining them by the feast days of the church; and, as will be gathered from what follows, they were as greatly in error, in regard to the date of their return from this island.

It was the 15th of August, old style, the feast of the Holy Virgin Mary, when the vessel which brought them back to their native country arrived at this island. But our worthy sailors, who had made preparations in as good a manner as they were able to keep this high holiday, reckoned the feast two days later, and consequently esteemed that day to be the thirteenth of August. A mistake of small consequence, which might arise from accountable causes, seeing that

proceeded so high towards the north? With these allowances made, and this doubt granted in their favour, they will appear to have been as correct as men in their circumstances of life could possibly be expected to have been.—*Translator.*

they for four months together had the sun revolving above the horizon during the summer, and in winter spent nearly an equal time in utter night and darkness, besides the weather being so gloomy and cloudy at times, and the rainy and snowy seasons depriving them of the sight of the stars. It is natural for the reader to inquire, how these men, who had neither clock nor watch, neither sun nor moon dial, could reckon the natural days while the sun continually shone, and more particularly at that time when it was no longer visible. I did not neglect to interrogate them on this subject. The boatswain, hurt at my question, answered me with some emotion, "What sort of a pilot should I be, if I were ignorant of the method of taking an altitude of the sun, when that planet were visible? or if I knew not how to tell by the course of the stars, in the absence of the sun, what were the fit hours for bed-time, out of the twenty-four? I had made myself for this use a proper sort of staff, similar to that which I had left on board our ship, and which served me to take my observations by." I conceive the instrument which he mentioned to me on this occasion, was what is called a Jacob's staff, or one somewhat resembling it.

The moon is visible, as they informed me, in this country during the winter for nearly two months together, and rises higher in proportion to the days becoming shorter. I leave to astronomers the task of criticising this appearance, contenting myself with relating simply their deposition*.

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* A similar example of the revolutions of the moon above the horizon in the absence of the sun, remarked by the Dutch in 1576, who wintered at Nova Zemla in 76 deg. of latitude, may be seen in the third voyage of the Dutch to the North, p. 66, 67.

"On the first of November, during the twilight, we saw the moon rise in the east, the sun being yet perceived tolerably high above the horizon. On the second, the sun was seen to rise in the S. S. E., and set nearly in the S. S. W.; but the

In winter they frequently were spectators of that phænomenon called by naturalists the northern lights. This contributed greatly for a time to diminish the dismay, which the thick darkness in which the hemisphere is enveloped in this climate during so long a night is calculated to impress on the mind of man.

One would imagine a country so near the pole, and in which the heat of summer is very tolerable, notwithstanding the continual shining of the sun for some months together, would be subject to excessive and insupportable cold, as long as winter lasted: nevertheless it has a different peculiarity. For about seven weeks, namely, from the middle of November until the beginning of January, reckoned by these good men according to holidays, viz. from the beginning of that of St. Philip, which falls on the 15th of November, until the day of consecrating the water, called the Holy Three Kings, and which is on the 6th of January; for these seven weeks it rained for the most part abundantly and without ceasing on this island, the weather being pretty mild, and the cold very supportable: however, after this period, that is to say, when the land winds blew, and more particularly the South, the cold became insufferable.

This may indeed occasion some surprise, since the south wind is generally warm in all countries, and the

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whole of its globe did not show itself, being observed only in the horizon with a part beneath. On the third, it rose in the S. E. by S., but rather nearer to the S.; and declined somewhat to the S. of S. W. by S.; the upper part of its globe appearing from the spot where its height was taken, about as high as the tops of the vessel, which lay in that direction. On the fourth it was seen no more, the weather yet remaining very fine.

"When the sun left rising, the moon assumed its place, and shone day and night without setting; as it was then in its highest quarter." See Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales formée dans les Pays Bas.

north commonly cold. But we must take into consideration, that the south wind in respect to our islanders blew over all Europe, in winter covered with snow; and particularly over the northern part, where the cold is extreme: but the north wind, sweeping an open sea, instead of cold brought exhalations, yet somewhat fresh in themselves, as they always bore along some snow with them:—most men will have noticed when in harbour, that the land breeze is at all times colder than that from sea. What confirms this account is, that all those who have been upon the Riphæan mountains or chain, called the Poias Semnoy, and which separates Russia in Europe from Siberia, give a similar description with our mariners of the quality of the north and south winds.

As for snow, such an astonishing qua[illegible] this island, that their hut in winter was commonly entirely enclosed by it, so that they were left without any other means of getting out, than by an opening which they contrived in the roof of their entry room.

In reply to my inquiries respecting tempests, these sailors informed me, that they did not once hear it thunder during their residence on the island.

If we except white bears, rein-deer, and foxes, which, as I have before noticed, were found in great plenty on the island, it is destitute of all four-footed animals, as well as of men. It is true, some wild fowl were seen in summer: but they were only geese, ducks, and other water fowl.

The sea likewise round about the island is destitute of every kind of fish. Our sailors, in other respects very strict in their religion, contrary to the custom of this description of people, could not, therefore, observe either the great or the single fasts. Nay, had there been a superabundance of fish upon the coast, these unfortunate men could have derived no benefit from the circumstance; since, as they had neither tackle nor nets, they could not have caught them: the choice of meat might in such a case, however, have suggested to

them to employ their ingenuity in constructing tackle; this they probably would have effected in the end, yet at any rate not without great difficulty.

Few whales were perceived nigh the shore, but sea dogs and sea calves in very considerable numbers. It must not, therefore, be wondered at that the Russians should have sometimes wintered here; with the skins, the teeth, and the oil, of these animals, and particularly of the last mentioned, they carry on a considerable trade: what rather should excite astonishment, is the circumstance of no ship's arriving at the island during the whole time of our sailors' residing there. Hence I suspect that the advantage derivable from the fishery in this quarter is not equal to that upon the [illegible] coast of Spitzbergen, to which ships commonly sail.

They told me it frequently happened that they met with teeth of sea calves upon the shore, and sometimes jaws of those animals, but never entire carcases. This can excite no wonder. It does not admit a doubt, that if they died on the shore they would be devoured by the white bears, and probably by the foxes also.

The great number of teeth and jaws with which the shores are bestrewed, makes me suspect with great probability, that these carnivorous beasts frequently surprise the sea calves when asleep, and devour them. I am led to this suspicion from a knowledge of its being common for the bears to feed on the dead whales, which are frequently seen floating on the sea, or are cast upon the shores of these islands contiguous to the pole. We have before observed, that the rein-deer are supported by the moss, which grows plenteously in these uninhabited and desert regions: but what feeds the foxes that are met with? It is well known that this animal is carnivorous, and lives on the continent upon fowl, and hares, which it surprises: it is also probable that, in this country, its food is those animals which the bear has killed, and which not having power itself to

attack, have yet fallen an easy prey to that stronger beast.

Before I proceed to mention the lucky and unhoped for deliverance of our sailors from their lonesome situation, a situation in which they expected to pass their days, I must now relate an incident which I had omitted before, and which is well worthy of remark: As long as they remained upon this island, they had been free both from lice and fleas; and it was not till their return to their native country, that these vermin made their appearance again upon them.

Most writers of voyages have remarked that, upon crossing the equinoctial line, sailors, who are much subject to lice, and the clothes which they wear, that is to say, their checked shirts, become im[illegible] clear of them: as soon, however, as they recross the line, they are pestered with these vermin again, as much as before. These two similar incidents occasion a reflection reasonable enough in itself; it is, that since the passing of the line and the passing of the polar circle produce a similar effect, there must needs be between the one and the other a connection, into which it would be well that naturalists should examine.

Our unfortunates had now been nearly six years in this dismal situation, when Feodor Werigin died, reduced to a skeleton; so much had he suffered from his dreadful illness. Released it is true from the cares of attending and feeding him, and from the grief of seeing him suffer, without the power of affording him relief, they still did not see his death without emotion; they saw their number now diminished, and there were but three remaining. As his decease took place in the winter, they made a hole in the snow as deep as possible, and laid his corpse in it, covering it in the best manner they could, that the white bears might not get to and devour it.

To conclude: at a time when every one was reflect-

ing upon this last duty paid to their companion, and under apprehension that it would be his lot to lie by his side,—contrary to all expectation, a Russian vessel appeared in sight on the 15th of August 1749.

On board the ship was a merchant of a certain sect, called by its professors Staravieva, or The ancient faith, a good and worthy character. The ship was originally intended to winter in Nova Zemla, by its principal: however, fortunately for our sailors, M. Vernizobre proposed to this merchant to change that destination for Spitzbergen; which proposal, after many excuses, and much demurring, was complied with.

The wind being contrary on the voyage, the ship was not able to reach the intended station; they therefore directed her course towards East Spitzbergen, directly opposite to the spot inhabited by our adventurers. They perceived the vessel, and made haste to kindle different fires upon the hills in the neighbourhood of their dwelling; they also hoisted a flag staff upon the shore; a rein-deer's skin, which they fastened to it, serving them for a signal in lieu of colours. Those on board the ship observed these signals; and concluding that they were made by people who entreated their assistance, they came to anchor.

It would be useless for me to attempt to describe the joy with which these unfortunate men were filled at seeing so nigh the instant of their unexpected deliverance. They treated with the commander of the vessel, entered his service, and agreed with him for the transport of themselves and all their effects to their native land, for which they were to pay him eighty rubles. They put on board the vessel fifty pood, or two thousand pounds, of rein-deer's fat, and a number of hides of these animals, as well as blue and white fox skins, and those of the ten bears which they had killed: they did not forget their bow, their arrows, their spears, or lances, their axe almost worn to the handle, and nearly used-up knife; their awl, their needle, which were inclosed in a bone box very ingeniously worked with their knife,

the nerves or fibres of the white bears, and rein-deer, in short, whatever they possessed.

These different articles which I have described were sent by M. Vernizobre to count Von Schuwaloff, and by him were confided to my care: I had full leisure to examine them, and to lay them before the unsated curiosity of several persons; among others, different professors of the Imperial Academy Der Wissenschaften, in whom they excited astonishment. In company of these latter gentlemen, I conversed with the pilot Alexis Himkoff, and his godson the sailor, Iwan Himkoff, and questioned them at different times on their adventures.

I must be allowed, in proceeding, to mention a trifling circumstance relative to the little box which these men had made for holding their needle.

I showed this box to certain virtuosi, and informed them that the sailors had made it with a knife, and solemnly assured me of it. These gentlemen did not believe that they told the truth; they would have that it was turned; and that these men had deceived me, in giving out that it was their workmanship; whence they concluded, that, as they had told a falsity on this occasion, there was room left for doubting of what they had related respecting the events on the island which they had inhabited.

By chance it happened, while we were in conversation on the subject, that M. Homann, a very ingenious turner, came into my apartment. As soon as I saw him, I observed to the company, "You see that man; he is certainly the fittest person that can be to decide this matter." I stept towards him, and gave the question a different turn, in order that it might not be suspected that M. Homann should answer me with more courtesy than truth. "You must decide sir," said I, "the point I have to question you upon between this gentleman and me: I maintain that this box is turned; this gentleman the contrary." After Homann had taken and examined it, he answered me, "This gentleman is

right: this never was made with a turning lathe: it is a bone which has been rounded by shaving it." This answer silenced the company. It was now my turn to speak. I observed, that since on this occasion these sailors had told truth in what we had heard decided, there was no room left for doubting the remainder of what was related by them.

I come now to the return of our mariners: they arrived safe at Archangel the twenty-eighth of September 1749, after, as I have before noticed, having passed six years and three months in this dreadful seclusion.

The instant of meeting of the pilot and his wife was threatened with a melancholy catastrophe. She was standing on the bridge as the vessel arrived: she recognised her husband; she loved him most sincerely; she had so long bewailed him as dead; but now, inconsiderate, without patience to wait till the ship came to the pier, she threw herself forward to clasp him in her arms, fell into the water, and with difficulty was saved from perishing.

I must now in conclusion remark, that these men, who had lived so long without bread, eat it now with reluctance. They complain of its puffing them out. The same objection, in short, they make to all sorts of drink, and now use rain water alone as their beverage.

APPENDIX.

The gentleman whom I mentioned in my narrative that I had consulted respecting the reckoning of our islanders concerning the rising and setting of the sun, and whatever related to the course of that planet, was professor D. Krazzenstein, member of the Imperial Academy of Wissenschaften at Petersburg. This is the translation of the letter which he wrote to me on the subject:

"I HAVE to apologize to you for having so long delayed to send my opinion on the questions respecting which you wrote to me: the time which the calculations required, and the long continuance of the rains, have prevented my doing so before.

"After considering the matter with great attention, I find that the circumstance which professor Grischon adduces as a proof of the exactitude of the reckoning of our islanders, namely, the two days later reckoning than that of the mariners who brought them from the island, has a direct contrary tendency.

"Let any one reckon the 29th of February in a leap-year, this day will be counted by those who have no knowledge of the interpolation of a day, as the 1st of March; and after two* such years, what by one will be counted the 29th of February will by the other be considered the 2d of March: hence it follows, that if our islanders had neglected to attend to the bissextiles, 1744 and 1748, they would consequently have reckoned that the 17th of August which their deliverers called the 15th. It is also evident, that, if they paid attention to the leap-years, they made a mistake of two days, and if they did not allow for them, they erred in computation by four days: this will appear but trifling, if we consider the dark and cloudy season of winter, where they were without means of estimating the regular day. Furthermore, in that year when they noticed the entire disappearance of the sun on the 26th of October, they must have erred in their time, by being ten days in advance, or we must necessarily presuppose that they were in latitude 74° 41′; which can hardly be imagined. Bears' Island is in that latitude where they must in such case have been: which is not probable.

"If their place of residence was in latitude 77° and a half, as laid down upon the chart, the sun would then shine for the first time the 4th of February: from the 11th of April to the 8th of August, it would be

continually above the horizon; and finally, on the 16th of October it would wholly disappear.

"Had they been on Bears' Island, they would have seen the sun the first time on the 28th of January: the shining of the sun above the horizon would have continued from the 20th of April until the 31st of July, and on the 23d of October it would have disappeared entirely.

"From the remarks of our islanders, it would appear more likely that they were on the last-mentioned island; but the duskiness of the atmosphere at the horizon, a circumstance attendant on northern climates, may be the cause of their having perceived the circulation and absence of the sun almost ten days later and ten days earlier than computation will show.

"If the beginning of the revolution of the sun above the horizon be placed on the 2d of May, the end of this revolution above the horizon must happen on the 19th of July, and in this case they must have been in 71° and a half of latitude; which is not possible.

"I wish we had the relation in the possession of M. Von Klingstadt of Archangel, that we might add it to yours. Probably, by this means, what is wanting might be supplied, particularly the exact time of these sailors arriving from the island. I have no doubt, were you to communicate the wish, that he would take a pleasure in gratifying you: he fills the station of sub-auditor of the admiralty, and dwells with M. Vernizobre. I am, sir, &c."

At the close of this narrative I must add two things: the result of the illustration of M. Von Klingstadt, and the reflections with which M. Vernizobre terminates the first letter he wrote to me respecting these sailors, and the account of their adventures.

One of these men, says M. Von Klingstadt, is called Alexis Himkoff, and is fifty years of age; an-

other is named Stephen Scharapoff, forty-two years old; the third, by name Iwan Himkoff, is in his thirty-sixth year. All these, on their arrival, were in sound and perfect health: I myself had occasion to remark it, upon questioning them on the particulars of such an extraordinary residence, attended by such a wonderful preservation.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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